The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXXIX NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1929 No. 3362

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 701

EDITORIALS:

"Fit to Rule" 704

Mr. Stimson Moves 705

The Saar Conference 705

Ships by Order 706

IT SEEMS TO HEYWOOD BROUN 707

WHY CHINA FIGHTS. By Louis Fischer 708

HOOVER'S FILLIP TO BUSINESS. By Leo Wolman 710

RUSSIA FROM A CAR WINDOW: VI. THE SOVIETS AND THE FUTURE. By Oswald Garrison Villard 712

SECRETARY WILBUR AT BOULDER DAM. By Ruth Finney 714

IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 719

CORRESPONDENCE 720

BOOKS, MUSIC, FILMS, DRAMA:

Not Spring. By James Rorty 722

Fine Rain. By Melville Cane 722

Religion in America. By H. L. Mencken 722

Women and Wages. By John A. Hobson 723

The Wanderings of Takawo. By Johan Smertenko 724

How to Read Poetry. By Pierre Loving 724

Gladstone and His Day. By S. K. Ratcliffe 724

Zona Gale's New Manner. By Joseph Wood Krutch 725

Submarines and War. By C. Hartley Grattan 726

Illustrated Books and New Editions 726

Music: An Operatic Revival, Mr. Horowitz Reappears. By Laurence Adler 727

Films: The Eye and the Heart. By Alexander Bakshy 728

Drama: Good Intentions. By Joseph Wood Krutch 729

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:

Communism in India 732

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE 734

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Subscription Rates: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50; and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, No. 20 Vesey Street, New York City, Cable Address: Nation, New York. British Agent of Subscriptions and Advertising, Miss Gertrude M. Cross, 34, Clifton Gardens, W. 9, London, England.

COMMANDER BYRD and three companions—Bernt Balchen, pilot, Harold June, radio operator, Captain Ashley McKinley, camera man, with the Commander himself as navigator—have flown over the South Pole. They took wing in a world of white clouds, white snow, white horizons; they flew within an altitude of 500 feet for half their journey and then found it necessary to climb to 10,000, through the narrow walls of a glacier, with no room to turn around in if the plane could not rise sufficiently. While they flew on, the four men were busy at the controls or were redistributing gasoline, taking moving pictures, dumping out food that had become too heavy for their ascent, and watching with desperate anxiety the instruments that told them where they were going, how, and whether or not they would make their goal. This is high adventure, and there is probably not a boy in the world who reads this story without wishing that he, too, could have been on that history-making trip. The fact that the brilliant polar day was with them for twenty-four hours, that they were clothed in furs, that ice lay below them, and great ice peaks, some 15,000 feet high, pierced the sky around them makes the story more thrilling and picturesque. But it has its sober aspects, too. The Byrd expedition was undertaken for solemn, scientific reasons; it will give men more knowledge of the lands that lie at the bottom of the earth than has ever been available. The camera and the airplane will one day leave no parts of this planet uncharted. When that day comes, men of Commander Byrd's temperament will have to find other worlds to conquer.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT that Dwight Morrow will within a few months be appointed United States Senator from New Jersey to succeed David Baird, Jr., who now takes the seat made vacant by Senator Edge's appointment as Ambassador to France, is extremely satisfactory reading. While *The Nation* is not of Mr. Morrow's political faith, it rejoices that a man of such fine personal quality, high integrity, and broad vision, and such a praiseworthy public record may be the defender of his point of view in the Senate. That he will be opposed by some of the Old Guard in New Jersey seems already plain. But we have the faith that he will win in the primary if he contests for the full Senatorial term. If Mr. Morrow does remain in the Senate we venture the prophecy that he will be favorably considered for the Presidency in succession to Mr. Hoover by Progressives in that body. Which is a long way, however, from saying that he will achieve the nomination at the hands of the Old Guard. But he is a man well worth watching, whatever he does and wherever he may be.

THE PUBLIC-UTILITY executives called into conference with the President—so the story goes in Washington—had an unexpressed feeling that they could cooperate more whole-heartedly if the government would let up on them for a while. Very likely, but how about their letting up on the rest of us? They never seem to let up on the Federal Power Commission. The current report of that body finds no fault in them, and recommends local rather than federal control. We know what that means. F. E. Bonner, executive secretary of the commission, has managed, according to an Associated Press dispatch, to evolve a plan for having the Departments of War, the Interior, and Agriculture assign men to do accounting field work for the commission. This plan, however, was opposed by William V. King, chief accountant of the commission, whose good work we have noted before. Mr. King demanded specialized training for his men, and the commission finally gave him a free hand to select from the accounting personnel of the three departments such men as he desired. Senator Nye, in protesting against Secretary Bonner's plan, called attention again to the ill-fated confidential memorandum dug up by the correspondents last summer and repudiated by the power executives. It urged the turning over of the commission's accounting work to the departments mentioned, saying: "It is believed that these departments will not have men specially trained for this work; at least they will be removed from the direct supervision of Mr. King." The forces at work for control within the Power Commission will bear sharp watching.

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KILL OR STAY OUT seems in a fair way to become the rule of the federal courts in the matter of naturalization, notwithstanding that the Kellogg treaty abolishing war "as an instrument of national policy" is now a part of the law of the land which judges, district attorneys, and other federal officials are sworn to uphold. Margaret Dorland Webb, a Canadian-born Quaker who has lived for twelve years at Richmond, Indiana, has just been refused naturalization by Federal District Judge Hoelscher because of her unwillingness to fight even "if the law were changed compelling women" to do so. Asked if she would "be willing to use physical force" in defense of herself or members of her family in case of attack, she replied; "Yes, but I would not take life in doing so." Would she be willing for the government to "defend itself by force of arms under necessity"? "But that isn't necessary," she replied, "now that our government has renounced war." That was too much even for her counsel, Wilfred Jessup; "We are not in the millennium," he said, and in view of the decision of the Supreme Court in the Rosika Schwimmer case declined to press the application. The Beloit *Daily News* reports the refusal of naturalization to a Russian priest at Medford, Wisconsin, because his religious convictions forbade him to bear arms. We wonder what the Wickersham commission will have to say about these and similar cases when it comes to report on the lawlessness of the courts.

THE VIRTUOUS DR. BENES, Foreign Minister of Czecho-Slovakia, does not intend that Hungary shall recover any of the territory that Czecho-Slovakia acquired from it as a consequence of the World War. Eight years ago, he told a correspondent of the New York *Times* recently, he had thought that it might be possible, but in the interval Hungary has been resorting to propaganda, and a restoration of territory now wouldn't do at all. "To give Hungary anything," this apostle of righteousness declared, "would be only to encourage her to demand all." The concession, he added, "would simply be used as a stepping-stone toward the reconstitution of pre-war Hungary"; and a pre-war Hungary, apparently, would not be likely to kowtow to Dr. Benes's darling, the Little Entente. Moreover, there is a practical difficulty: "with the restoration of 650,000 nationals to Hungary I should have to transfer 100,000 Slovaks who inhabit the same territory." A six-to-one case against the Hungarians is, of course, conclusive. Meantime the Committee on Non-German Reparations which was set up by the recent conference at The Hague is reported from Paris to have failed to reach any agreement in the case of Hungary. At Sofia, too, there have been riotous protests against the reparations that Bulgaria is to make. What an enduring peace the Allies made!

ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS FINE and thirty days in the county jail is the sentence imposed on Alfred Hoffmann by Judge Cowper at Marion, North Carolina. The jury found Hoffmann guilty of rioting but not guilty of resisting an officer, and they recommended mercy. Hoffmann's three co-defendants were sentenced to six months in the road gang, with possibility of reduction of sentence for good behavior. Considering the state of tension in the locality and the fact that feeling has been running high against labor organizers and strikers, the results of this particular trial are rather encouraging than otherwise. But they would be still more encouraging if the State could bring itself successfully to prosecute charges against certain of its police officers, also participants in the "riot." The sheriff of Gaston County and his deputies are by no means absolved of a provocative share in the troubles of August 30. Judge Cowper, before passing sentence, expressly reaffirmed the right of labor to organize: "No sentence of the court must be interpreted as opposition to the right of labor to organize lawfully. The sentence is merely for violating the law of North Carolina." However, there are indications that this fair-minded attitude is not typical of North Carolina's officials as a whole. A movement is under way to make rioting more than the misdemeanor it now is, and there are rumors that a statute similar to California's anti-syndicalist laws will shortly be offered to the legislature.

"POLITICAL SOPHISTRY" was the term with which Dr. Curtius, German Foreign Minister, characterized the so-called "Liberty Law" intended to prevent the acceptance by Germany of the Young plan which the Reichstag was asked to approve. The bill not only provided for the rejection of the Young plan in advance of any action that the conference at The Hague might take, but also imposed the drastic penalty of penal servitude upon any official of the Reich who should approve either the payment of reparations or an agreement with any foreign government for such payment. Under the constitution the rejection of the Nationalist proposal, following a popular vote of more than 10 per cent of the electorate in favor of it, requires the submission of the proposal to a plebiscite. The small number of votes, only about 8,000, in excess of the required 10 per cent makes it reasonably certain that the plebiscite will fail, and the impressive majorities with which the Reichstag, following the devastating speech of Dr. Curtius, rejected the various clauses of the bill indicate pretty clearly what the people may be expected to do at the polls on December 22.

THE MACDONALD GOVERNMENT goes on strengthening itself at various points of its program, notwithstanding that some of the difficulties which it has to meet are serious. A preferential tariff agreement just concluded with Argentina is expected to give certain British textiles a decided advantage over American products in the Argentine market. The League of Nations has been reminded that international conferences are a law unto themselves, and that if the date set for the meeting of the naval conference at London, January 21, happens to interfere with the date of the meeting of the League Council the Council may have to make other arrangements. The initial subscriptions to Mr. Snowden's 5 per cent conversion loan have come in well. The pledge to abstain from propaganda in Great Britain, as a part of the agreement for the resumption of diplomatic relations with Russia, will be interpreted, according to Foreign Secretary Henderson, to cover the Communist International as well as the Russian Government. Conferences on the coal-mine situation have struck a snag, however, although the resignation of Herbert Smith, president of the Miners' Federation, following the acceptance by a majority of the districts of the government proposals which Mr. Smith had opposed, has disposed of one important obstacle, and on November 28 the Government escaped de-

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feat in a debate on the new dole bill only because of the absence of Liberal and Tory members.

GENERAL SMUTS put his finger on a vital spot in the reduction of armaments business in his speech at London on November 14 when he called attention to the special importance of aerial disarmament. "Aerial warfare," he declared, "constitutes by far the most serious danger to civilization. It means ruthless warfare, not against the armed forces of the enemy but against his civilian population, with the consequent destruction of cities and the population behind the lines." "With air forces rapidly growing in many countries," he continued, the situation was one that should "be dealt with without further delay." General Smuts let his hearers at the Guildhall understand quite clearly that he felt no enthusiasm over Mr. Hoover's suggestion about immunity for food ships in time of war, for the reason that the success of any effort to humanize war seemed to him very doubtful. There were plenty of "humanizing expedients" on hand when the World War began, but "as soon as the first shot was fired" they "went by the board." The better plan, as General Smuts sees it, is to develop the method of conference between members and non-members of the League of Nations, since "the spirit of conference is the very soul of the peace movement." Stranger things might happen than that the five naval Powers that are expected to confer at London in January should find, after they had agreed to reduce and limit their navies, that the development of air armaments would shortly render all navies comparatively useless.

WHEN THE SUPREME COURT of the United States in 1923 invalidated minimum-wage legislation, it clamped down the lid on one of the darkest spots in our industrial life—namely, the wages paid to great numbers of women workers. The Consumers' League of New York, in its investigation of the wholly unorganized candy industry two years ago, cast a little ray of light into that darkness and then took positive action by establishing a white list of candy manufacturers who pay a minimum wage of $14 a week in addition to meeting certain sanitary and hygienic requirements. We are glad to note that the league is making efforts to extend this work to other large centers, Cleveland already having its own white list. In view of the approach of the holiday season, we remind readers who want to buy candy made under approved conditions that copies of the white lists may be obtained by addressing the Consumers' League, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

MYRON C. TAYLOR, chairman of the Finance Committee of the United States Steel Corporation, at a celebration in honor of the birthday of Andrew Carnegie, has appealed to the public for courage and confidence. From among many gems in his utterance, we cull the following:

> These two examples of collective action may well make one pause in considering the problem of the nation's ultimate destiny, for if such a tremendous operation, carried on in a period when the nation's financial and industrial and commercial strength was at its highest peak, when the labor of the country was fully employed, and when confidence in the future was justified on every hand, should carry the community to such an unwarranted pitch of competitive buying of securities of all sorts and as suddenly plunge it into the very depths of disbelief and fear, one must wonder whether the temperament of our nation makes it any more secure against the ravages of time and decay than were those great nations of history to which we have referred.

Precisely; we agree heartily with this compact and trenchant illumination of the problem under consideration, for we believe that it was really quite incredible that the public through ignorance, or eagerness to hazard, should have followed its imprudent course in the face of grave warnings by men like Mr. Taylor and his associates, which only goes to prove how dangerous it is when mass action gets out of the hands of the financiers and steel leaders and banking heads who are usually to be trusted to steer the country into proper channels, all of which, to quote Mr. Taylor again, "reminds one of a locomotive, driven at full speed over a busy line through populous districts, past all signs and signals along the way, headed for certain disaster"—disaster as certain as that which ought to overtake those who inflict sentences like these upon an innocent public in elucidation of a national disaster!

"PICTURES OF ROASTING SOULS in hell make more atheists than any other thing in the world." Is this the latest pronouncement of the society to foster atheism? It is not. These words have come from the lips of that respectable dignitary the Bishop of London, in no less renowned a place than Westminster Abbey. Had the words been uttered in those sacred precincts even a hundred years ago we know what charges of heresy and blasphemy would have lain against the speaker! Again, the Bishop said: "Some say that people who rebel against God will be annihilated. I can only say, we do not know." But if the Church of England is ready to confess its ignorance as to this possibility in our future life, how can it claim to know anything about our eternal salvation? Finally, the Bishop announced that passages in the Gospel of St. Matthew "attributed to our Lord were not said by our Lord at all." Good Heavens! We hope that he will never undertake a trip to Tennessee or ask to speak in the church of the late Rev. John Roach Straton. To question one word of the New Testament is treason in all our fundamentalist circles whether the traitor be a bishop or a layman. To make matters worse the "Gloomy Dean," Inge, of St. Paul's, in London, similarly expressed his doubts at almost the same hour. He would "be the last to revive the terrible symbolism of hell torture," but he is, he admits, considerably anxious lest the "godly fear" of the New Testament be entirely banished. Now bishops and deans may worry all they please; the fact is that sensible people and intelligent people everywhere have unanimously done away with that hellish figment of the imagination which was devised primarily to keep the masses in subservience to those who depressed and exploited them.

THE NATION takes pleasure in announcing the accession to its staff as literary editor of Henry Hazlitt, for years in charge of the book pages of the New York *Sun*. Mr. Hazlitt begins his work on January 1, 1930. Miss Kirchwey, at present literary editor, now on a year's leave of absence, rejoins the staff next fall, we are happy to say, as an associate editor.

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"Fit to Rule"

IT was Elihu Root, if we remember rightly, who once declared that the Republican Party alone was fit to rule. Now not even Mr. Root, we believe, would greet this Republican Congress, as it meets again in its second session after its futile first sitting, with any such tribute. Never, we think, has the party fallen lower as a formulator of national policy; never has an Administration, which took office with a large party majority in the House and a workable one in the Senate, achieved so little. A Republican President took charge after the most emphatic victory ever recorded—only to demonstrate that being a successful engineer in no wise guarantees that one is also a leader. It is plain that Mr. Hoover must in large measure bear the responsibility for his party's debacle—for he cannot lead. He indicates his wishes, but neither specifies just what he wants nor knows how to obtain it. His is the type of mind which grapples with no problem until compelled to do so, and he is further handicapped in that he is without a large and devoted following in the capital.

It is the same Congress which is meeting again and it will produce as little as it did in the last session to benefit the public and much, we fear, that will do harm. In an hour when sound reason dictates the lowering of the tariff to open up more world markets to us in the coming period of industrial depression and consequent restriction of the home market, the Republican Party will make it much more difficult for the rest of the world to buy from us or to pay us what it owes us. A tariff bill will doubtless be put through, but the measure, no matter how much altered, will still reek with politics, compromise, expediency, and selfish aggrandizement. Even the Progressive Senators, with the outstanding exception of Senator Norris, have been so recreant to the plain people as to vote for a thirty-four cent duty on wool—the wool every citizen must buy unless he substitutes shoddy. They have forgotten that it was the Schedule K of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff of 1909 which so roused the country against Mr. Taft that the Republicans lost control of Congress in the following year. Mr. Taft himself admitted that Schedule K, levying a duty of thirty-three to thirty-six cents a pound on wool, was "indefensible." In 1929 we find our leading Progressives voting for a thirty-four-cent duty on this commodity.

None the less the dispatches report that the Progressive group will be more than ever in control of the situation in the regular session and will continue the program of reducing the tariff slightly here and there and building it up at points where the group thinks the farmer can be protected. Their economics are utterly at fault. Except in a few cases, it is not possible to aid the farmer by the hocus-pocus of bringing him within the magic circle of protection. Nothing that can be done for him will offset the burdens he already carries as a result of the taxation of most of the things that he needs and uses. As to this, let us cite some words of one of the ablest and most honest of the recent members of the Tariff Commission at Washington, Edward P. Costigan, who served on that commission for years. In a recent address in Denver he declared that:

> The effort to put agriculture and manufacturing on a parity by means of the tariff is doomed to failure, so far as the great bulk of our production is concerned. The prices of approximately three-fourths of our farm products are fixed, not by the tariff, but in world markets, and if the government is to save the producers of those goods against loss, bounties rather than tariffs must do the work. Farm subsidies such as the debenture plan might partially relieve the present agricultural distress, but if high tariffs are to be maintained all along the line on manufactured goods, it appears certain that the farmer is destined to play a rapidly lessening part in our economic life. One reason is that farmers are not able to combine like manufacturers and thus limit production, divide markets, and fix prices. Accordingly while their eyes are on foreign competition, the farmers are often disastrously affected by domestic competition. The recent useless high tariff on butter is a striking case in point.

The Progressives cannot see that there is a moral issue in this tariff question and so they cannot throw themselves whole-heartedly into defeating the tariff bill. This is but fresh evidence of the lack of statesmanship at Washington.

The significant point about it all is that the present disintegration and demoralization of the Republican Party are of its own creation. We admit that there have been other times when the party seemed on the point of complete decay, when there was a shocking dearth of leadership by other than partisan spoilsmen. But what we are witnessing today is, we believe, a deeper rotting out of the party's fiber than at any time heretofore. This is as it should be; if its complete surrender to the masters of wealth and special privilege does not carry with it a progressive punishment in the corroding of its own spirit and membership, one will have to abandon one's belief in the mills of the gods. Certainly no one can maintain that the party ever touched a lower tide in its leadership of the Senate than when it made Jim Watson of Indiana its leader and the spokesman of the President of the United States.

Meanwhile, as Senator Walsh has pointed out, it does not lie in any Republican's mouth to abuse the Democrats for striking hands with the Progressives. During the years 1919-1920 a Republican Congress deadlocked the government of Woodrow Wilson, wrecked its domestic reconstruction program, postponed tax reduction until 1921, and deflated the farmers at an enormous cost to them. Senator Walsh's indictment cannot conceal the fact that the leadership on his side of the House is as inept, as futile, and as devoid of principle as that on the Republican. Democratic leadership, too, steadily disintegrates as the party more and more embraces the Republican policies it once professed to oppose. The tariff cancer is eating out its heart. The Democratic Party, too, is infected by imperialism, poisoned by the virus of big navalism, and unredeemed by its superior interest in foreign affairs which too often is based upon expediency rather than principle. How under these circumstances can there be any hesitation on the part of liberals in turning to the task of creating a new party free of corruption and sincerely devoted to the welfare of the masses?

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Mr. Stimson Moves

OF real significance is the action of the United States in appealing to fifty-three nations, signers of the Kellogg Peace Pact, to unite in bringing pressure upon Russia and China to stop further hostilities and settle their dispute over the Chinese Eastern Railway. That the action is a belated one is true, for it came after Russia and Mukden had apparently settled their differences so as to make intervention by the rest of the world superfluous. It is not even clear that there ever existed a state of war save in the minds of certain excited reporters and in the frantic reports sent out from Chinese sources at the time of their appeal to the League of Nations and to Washington for help. None the less, even if this state of affairs makes Secretary Stimson's action a bit ridiculous, we prefer to dwell on the fact that it establishes first, that the United States Government is taking the Kellogg Peace Pact seriously and, second, that it has created a precedent according to which the nations may act when future emergencies arise. It would plainly have been far better had Mr. Stimson waited either to ascertain the facts as to the reported collisions in Manchuria between Chinese and Russian troops—he admits that he is only "credibly informed"—or if China and Russia had settled their grievances before he moved. But the point is that the Government of the United States has shown a moral responsibility in the matter of its signature to the Peace Pact which is worthy of acclaim.

China, it will be recalled, last July summarily ousted the Russian officials of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the great artery of North Manchuria, and took over entire control of that Sino-Russian enterprise. The Chinese alleged Russian propaganda as their excuse, but even if these complaints were true they constituted no legal basis for violent seizure of the railroad. Russia replied with an ultimatum demanding restoration of the ousted officials and, when China refused, broke most of the remaining threads of their diplomatic relations.

War seemed imminent. Geneva almost boiled over with large ideas of peaceful intervention by the League. Unfortunately, Soviet Russia was not a member of the League, and had shown a certain resentment of that body's hoity-toity attitude. Now the Kellogg Pact has no "implementation," no machinery for enforcement, but since the ratifications are deposited at Washington, it seemed appropriate for Mr. Stimson to recall to Russia and to China that both had pledged themselves not to seek settlement of their disputes except by pacific means. It might have seemed even more appropriate and, what is more important, more effective, if the State Department had not refused to soil its hands by direct contact with the Russians. It had to work through the astute M. Briand in Paris, and the message seems to have been garbled in transmission.

The Chinese had made a miscalculation. They reckoned that the Bolshevik-hating Powers, particularly Japan, would be with China against Russia. But in this case it was the Chinese who were seizing private property. The Japanese saw very clearly that what was sauce for the partly Russian-owned Chinese Eastern Railway in North Manchuria might some day be sauce for their own railways in South Manchuria and they were heart and soul with the Russians.

Russia brought up troops and, along the wild frontier, there were frequent but unimportant border skirmishes. Chinese news agencies made battles out of fist fights, but their wild exaggerations soon discredited them. Meanwhile, the soy-bean crop was not moving, and the Chinese farmers in Manchuria complained. Soon a split in Chinese opinion appeared. The Manchurian Government wanted peace at almost any price so that normal business could resume, and traffic flow freely to Vladivostok. The Nationalists, at their far-away capital in Nanking, stood on prestige and refused to yield a jot or tittle. But when a series of rebellions lessened the authority of Nanking, Mukden plucked up its courage and, at first secretly, resumed conversations with Moscow.

Nanking apparently heard of these, and the fun began. First came reports of a tremendous Russian invasion of Manchuria. (The early reports announced capture of certain towns by the Russians; a week later the same Chinese news agencies were solemnly reporting bombardments of the towns which they had reported captured!) Geneva was eager to help, but did not see how to do it. Mr. Stimson, however, stepped forward again with the hallowed Kellogg Pact in his hands. He wanted, he said, "joint international" action for peace. Unfortunately, his words were larger than his capacity for action. Japan, for instance, has always been conspicuously averse to joint international action in Manchuria. Politely, of course, but firmly, she told Mr. Stimson to keep out.

But Mr. Stimson had apparently so far committed himself as to have to go on in his appeal to the other nations and to cry "Peace, Peace" when there was no war. The bomb of peace burst. The Russians calmly announced that they had made peace on their own terms with Mukden.

The Saar Conference

THE return of the Saar basin to Germany is finally being discussed; after several delays, Franco-German negotiations started at Paris on November 21. If an agreement satisfactory to both sides is reached, a large obstacle to Franco-German rapprochement will have been removed. More than three years have elapsed since the famous Thoiry luncheon when the return of the Saar was first broached. Finally, at The Hague, Briand and Stresemann in an exchange of notes dated August 30, 1929, agreed to discuss the matter "shortly at Paris." An excellent spirit of conciliation seems to have marked the opening of the negotiations, and while the delicacy and difficulty of the problem presage a long conference, nevertheless the beginnings are auspicious. Most important of all, the discussions may be viewed as a move toward a peaceful revision of the sacred Versailles treaty. Although originally arranged by M. Briand's more liberal government, the negotiations are being carried on by the Right Ministry of M. Tardieu.

It will be recalled that at the Paris Peace Conference France attempted to annex the Saar outright in order to gain possession of its rich coal resources. The population of 800,000 is at least 90 per cent German, but the Versailles treaty provides that "as compensation for the destruction of the coal mines in the north of France and as part payment

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toward the total reparation," Germany should cede to France the "full and absolute" ownership of the coal mines of the Saar basin. These mines are today operated by the Mining Administration of the French Government. Furthermore, Germany renounced the government of the area in favor of the League of Nations as trustee. According to the treaty, this regime is to be in force for fifteen years, or until 1935, when a plebiscite is to determine whether the population wishes to continue under the present League regime, to be united with France, or to return to Germany. In case of the latter contingency, Germany must repurchase the mines at a price payable in gold.

As provided by the treaty, the Saar has been governed by a commission of five members appointed by the League Council. Since 1922 there has been an Advisory Council composed of thirty representatives elected by the Saar inhabitants. The council is responsible to the League, and the Saar people have the right to send petitions to the League Council through the commission. This right has been frequently invoked, especially during the first troubled years after the war when the French exercised a preponderant influence in the governing commission. During that period the harassed Saarländer looked to the League as their only hope. On the economic side the introduction of the French franc into the territory in 1923 saved the inhabitants from some of the worst consequences of the German inflation, although in 1926 they suffered from the decline of the franc. The Saar forms part of the French customs system and has therefore not been cut off from the iron derived from the neighboring Lorraine. Besides having the advantages of the French market, since February, 1928, a Franco-German commercial agreement which supplemented and extended two arrangements concluded in 1926 has provided the heavy industry of the Saar with a better German market.

To appreciate the importance of the current negotiations in Paris we must consider them against the background of French policy in the Saar since the armistice. During the first years France tried very hard to consolidate her position; she seems to have hoped that the 1935 plebiscite might result favorably for her and to have acted accordingly. Doubtless some of the grievances of the Saarländer as to French propaganda in the schools and attempts at Frenchification were exaggerated. But the continued presence of French troops (until 1926) and the preponderant French influence on the governing commission did not tend to soothe the Germans.

M. Briand, however, evidently views the Saar problem in its proper relation to the larger question of liquidation of the war. Furthermore, he realizes that were a plebiscite held it would result in at least a 90 per cent vote for reunion with Germany. The return, five years early, of territory which France must surely give up in time would be a gesture which Paris could well afford to make. It is generally assumed that a small group in the powerful Comité des Forges comprises the only persons in France really interested in retaining the Saar, aside from the politicians of the Right, to whom any change in the Versailles treaty is an anathema. It is the task of the present conference to safeguard the interests of the French industrialists who are said to have invested at least $20,000,000 in the territory. The very fact that a delegation of sixteen Germans has been cordially received at Paris to discuss these questions augurs well for a peaceful revision of the Saar clauses of the Treaty of Versailles.

Ships by Order

FOR wise and far-sighted bureaucratic autocracy commend us to the Postmaster General, Walter F. Brown, lately politician in ordinary at Toledo and now economist extraordinary. This gentleman has decided to follow the President's example and ward off by executive fiat bad times in shipyards. Summoning before him officials of the United States Lines, Mr. Brown informed them that in order to receive any mail contracts their company must expend during the next eight years $150,000,000 for the construction of three giant super-liners capable of crossing the Atlantic in less than five days to compete with the new German record-breakers; of four 20,000-ton cabin-type vessels capable of doing twenty knots an hour, and of four passenger-and-freight ships of 12,000 tons and eighteen knots. As soon as they are completed these steamers will graciously be permitted to earn mail subsidies at the rate of $30,000,000 in ten years. Thus will Mr. Brown create, with a magic wand, a fleet to make English, German, and French shipmasters tremble in their boots, to carry American mail, with American poststamps, in American bottoms, under the American flag.

It is an alluring picture, certain to stir the hearts of all our nationalists and our navalists, who desire a large reserve merchant fleet. Unfortunately, the officials Mr. Brown summoned are plainly not good patriots; instead of praising Mr. Brown, as him from whom all ship-blessings flow, they had the impudence to suggest that he had overlooked one small matter—where the passengers and freight for this new fleet would come from. This is of course a mere trifle; yet these officials dare to assert that $30,000,000 will not keep a fleet of eleven ships at sea for ten years unless it is supplemented by other earnings, especially as the company already has the Leviathan and eleven other vessels to keep afloat. But why should that concern Mr. Brown? If it will head off bad times to announce that these new ships are to be built, why should this great economist hesitate? Let the company work out the details and provide the earnings; his job is to furnish the ideas. The only difficulty is that when the company last year bought the United States and American Merchant Lines it stipulated that it should build only two super-liners. It can thus refuse to accept the new proposal. But the wily Mr. Brown is ready for such a refusal. He has let it be suggested that if the United States Lines will not see its duty "other interests which are already identified with shipping lines, such as J. P. Morgan and Company, might be found ready" to do so. It is a case of put up or shut up shop.

We are convinced that, since patriotism calls and economic distress menaces, some red-blooded men will be glad to honor the super-economics of Mr. Brown and waive all obstacles. Why should carpers point out that the world is only just overcoming a vast surplus of tonnage; that Italians, Germans, English, and French are all planning super-liners and the Russians a fleet of 600 ships; that no one knows whether or not the four-and-a-half-day liner will pay; that no trade is so dependent on prosperity as is the Atlantic service, and that no one can foretell what shipping conditions will be eight years hence? The Postmaster General knows best. Let us all do his will.

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It Seems to Heywood Broun

A YOUNG newspaper friend of mine once had a nervous breakdown and went to the sanitarium of a famous specialist. After six or seven weeks the treatment was completed and I met the convalescent in a restaurant. To me he seemed somewhat tense and fidgety, but he insisted that the doctor had worked wonders. "I tell you there's nothing the matter with me now at all," he said, and pounded his fist upon the table. He spoke with great vehemence. "I'm absolutely all right," he added; "there isn't a thing wrong with me." And this time he made the dishes rattle with the violence of his gesture. "I don't see what gets into people," continued the newly cured neurotic, "they can't seem to understand that I'm absolutely sound."

By this time he was talking so loudly that I led him from the restaurant and the next day it was arranged that he should go back to the sanitarium for another few weeks. Ever since then I have always been a little disturbed when any individual grew too insistent about his fundamental soundness. And so I would feel more easy about America's immediate economic future if the White House bulletins were somewhat less frequent and less peppy. Mr. Hoover and his advisers have created a dim feeling that maybe the nation is passing a graveyard.

But things are not nearly so bad as the nervous reassurances of the government might seem to indicate. Nobody but an ignorant man, or an official, would pretend that industry has not received a powerful wallop somewhere in the neighborhood of the chin. There is no point in saying, "Never touched me," and rushing in for more. That fools nobody. The wise boxer who is knocked down by a punch takes his time in getting up. Only amateurs insist upon leaping up without a count and rushing into an immediate mix-up. It is much better to take the full limit of time allowed for recuperation and rise at the toll of nine. Too many leaders, both official and otherwise, have been trying to make American industry step right back into the mess and slug away again. This is less than inspired counsel.

Every country discovered during the war that official communiqués are prone to euphemisms. The canny citizen learned to interpret the jargon of optimism and when it was said officially that the army had made "a strategic retirement to previously prepared positions" he knew that there had been a reverse and a retreat. Just so it may be that no great harm is done in calling a panic "a brief period of readjustment." Still the shortest word is the most direct line between any two given points and the various official spokesmen might as well speak out frankly and admit that for the time being the lush stage of prosperity has ended. That does not mean universal calamity and soup kitchens, but even the most casual observer knows that the Coolidge boom has come to the end of the road in the Hoover panic.

Or possibly it will be known as the Coolidge panic in spite of the fact that Mr. Coolidge had already quit office when the break came. Republicans have a rule that in the case of disasters it is every man for himself. There was a day when Presidential blunders, even the most serious ones, were laid at the door of the private secretary. It was always possible to say that Mr. Loeb or Mr. Cortelyou had done it. These gentlemen at the time of their martyrdom were being paid to suffer just such indignities, and took the necessary blame without flinching. That system has been changed. Now it is customary for the current President to avoid criticism by pointing out that whatever happens was really begun by the man who preceded him in office.

Thus, Calvin Coolidge was able to avoid any embarrassment about oil by allowing all the burden of the most palpable blunders to rest upon the sainted memory of Warren Gamaliel Harding. And Mr. Hoover's lieutenants will doubtless insinuate with a certain quiet tact that after all it was Calvin Coolidge who made public announcement of the fact that brokers' loans were not too high. A curious fellow your regular Republican. In a sense he is practical minded. There was no difficulty at all in finding hundreds of faithful party men who would admit that Mr. Harding's administration had been at least unfortunate. But this admission was not made until after the President's death. Likewise it is not impossible to find those who feel that Calvin Coolidge gave aid and encouragement to the process of speculative inflation. You see Mr. Coolidge isn't running for anything just now. The Republican regular is an idealist who lives largely in the future. Even as he admits that the last national leader of his party was not so hot he will begin to sing praises of the new one just around the corner. And he has a convenient sort of deafness. Once I tried to stop a stalwart who was eulogizing President Coolidge, but newly sworn into his high office. "Hold on," I said, "Mr. Coolidge may merit everything you say of him, but do you by any chance remember that you told me just the same things about Warren Harding before he was elected?" The Republican Party has no past (with the exception of the occasional traditional mention of Lincoln). Its face is set to the present and the future. That is the direction in which the jobs lie.

Herbert Hoover's ready relief might seem to have more chance of immediate efficacy if there were a little more team work in the Cabinet. The various meetings with industrial and railroad executives were sound in principle. The announcement by captains of industry as to what their companies expected to spend in improvements and enlargements could well be salutary in checking unemployment. But the love feast between the government and big business was suddenly interrupted by a grating sound. While Mr. Hoover, in the parlor, was encouraging big business to get still bigger Mr. Mitchell was in the pantry filing suits under the Clayton act.

It might be a good idea to let the financiers already quoted have a chance to amend their figures. No policy of expansion will get far if the threat of trust busting hangs over American industry. Competition, particularly that which is artificially enforced, has always been the father of overproduction and panics. Seemingly the lesson has not yet been learned. But perhaps it is just as well that there should be Hooverian blunders. After all, the next Republican President may be in dire need of someone on whom to blame things.

HEYWOOD BROUN

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Why China Fights

By LOUIS FISCHER

CHINA continues to bleed in recurrent civil wars which are as interminable as they are indecisive. Political chaos, economic distress, and the confusion in foreign minds increase with each succeeding victory. But "victory" leaves the situation unchanged. It brings the victor and China nowhere. What is it all about?

More than a year ago, Feng, who is as little "Christian" as he is "Bolshevik," and Yen, the "peace-lord" of Shansi province, accepted offices with the Nanking government. In the same year, they fought that government. Now they have been bribed to a standstill. Chiang Kai-shek, the dictator of Nanking, has paid them handsomely, it is said, to sign a truce. Their war was one of the most sanguinary episodes in the Chinese internecine struggle. Thousands were killed and wounded. One morning Chiang, the great generalissimo, launched a successful financial attack; Feng and Yen ran up a white flag. But their armies and prestige are intact.

What Chiang and his German military experts could not accomplish on the field of battle, T. V. Soong, Nanking's Finance Minister, achieved by a flank banking operation. Nanking had to do it quickly because it is threatened by a new danger from the South where Chang Fa-kwei, whose famous Iron Army conquered South China in the period of Borodin and Galen, has made a sudden dash into the rich Kwangtung province. His objective is Canton. While Chiang grapples with Chang, Feng and Yen may try another offensive. Dispatches from China already speak of that possibility. And IF—it is a big IF—Chiang defeats the Iron Army, he cannot destroy it. It will simply retreat and reorganize. And so it goes. Feng, Yen, and Chang may be bought or beaten into passivity, but they are not eliminated. They continue to rule their districts and to exclude Nanking's authority. They cannot overthrow Nanking, and Nanking cannot overthrow them. Yet every now and then they must try. This is China's tragedy. She can neither be united nor remain peacefully disunited.

China is really a continent divided into countries each gravitating in a different direction and generally toward a center ruled by a foreign Power. This is the secret of her lack of cohesion. South China is an example. The provinces of Kwangtung (Canton), Kwangsi, Fukien, Kiangsi, the lower part of Hunan, and the associated regions—a district counting 80,000,000 inhabitants—depend for an economic outlet on Hongkong, a British colony, and are therefore subject to British imperial policy. Hongkong is the key to South China. Large classes of Chinese in the region find their interests identical with those of the British, and consequently oppose centripetal nationalist tendencies. "Canton for the Cantonese" is their motto; and they draw strength from Chinese clannishness and provincialism. The absence of railway connections between South China and the Yangtze River basin naturally reinforces Hongkong's hold, and the absence of a port at Canton makes that hold tantamount to commercial bondage. Everything that passes into or out of South China goes through Hongkong. The British of that island community control the life of Canton's hinterland.

In like manner, Yunnan gravitates to another foreign center, to French Indo-China. Its army is modeled after the French. Its arms are mostly French. Its opium is exported through French Indo-China. Sometimes the rich province of Kwangtung attracts its merchants, and the weak province of Kwangsi its militarists. Nothing, however, fosters any interest in a national state.

Similarly Manchuria. The northern half is more or less economically interested in the Soviet Union. The southern part is a Japanese sphere of influence. But Mukden cooperates with Nanking only when Nanking does Mukden's bidding. The business and political ties are with Japan, not with Central China.

A parallel situation has developed in Central China. The most recent outburst of civil war involved two groups in that region: Nanking or Chiang Kai-shek, whose foothold is in the Yangtze River basin, and Feng, who rules in the Yellow River basin. Chiang has never impressed his authority on more than five provinces, and never collected taxes in more than two—Chekiang and Anhwei. His position, therefore, is no better than and no different from that of Sun Chuan-fang, a general or tuchun whom he supplanted in 1927 as master of the "Five Provinces" of the Yangtze. Chiang's orientation is on Shanghai, its Chinese bourgeoisie, and its British imperial might. By intrenching himself along the Shanghai-Nanking line, he loses control of Canton. His arm does not extend to Szechuan further up the Yangtze. And when he seeks to move on Peking, Japanese forces in Shantung, and the fear of flank and rear attacks from Chinese rivals make the venture hazardous.

Chiang Kai-shek's chief rival in Central China is Feng. The provinces of Shensi and Honan, and sometimes the Moslem state of Kansu, have been his hunting ground in recent years. This Yellow River district has developed its own bourgeoisie, which wants freedom from the superbourgeoisie of Shanghai. And the peasantry in Feng's domain entertains the usual antipathy to the great city by the sea. Feng therefore wants his own outlet to the ocean through Shantung, where, however, he comes into conflict with Japan and with the Shanghai-Nanking "Five Provinces." Or he tries to move down toward the Yangtze and comes into conflict with the British, and again with Nanking. Or he may seek to extend his influence in the direction of Peking. Here, unless he reaches an agreement with the ruler of Shansi—now Yen Hsi-shan—his rear and flank are exposed; but if, by means of an accord with Shansi, he captures Peking and Tientsin, as he has done in the past, he arouses the jealousy of the Manchurians and the suspicion of the foreign Powers. Wherever Feng can find air, food, and revenue, he also finds imperialist lines of defense. These either take him into tow or bend and break him temporarily. Exactly the same situation arises when other provincial or "federal" tuchuns strike out on the

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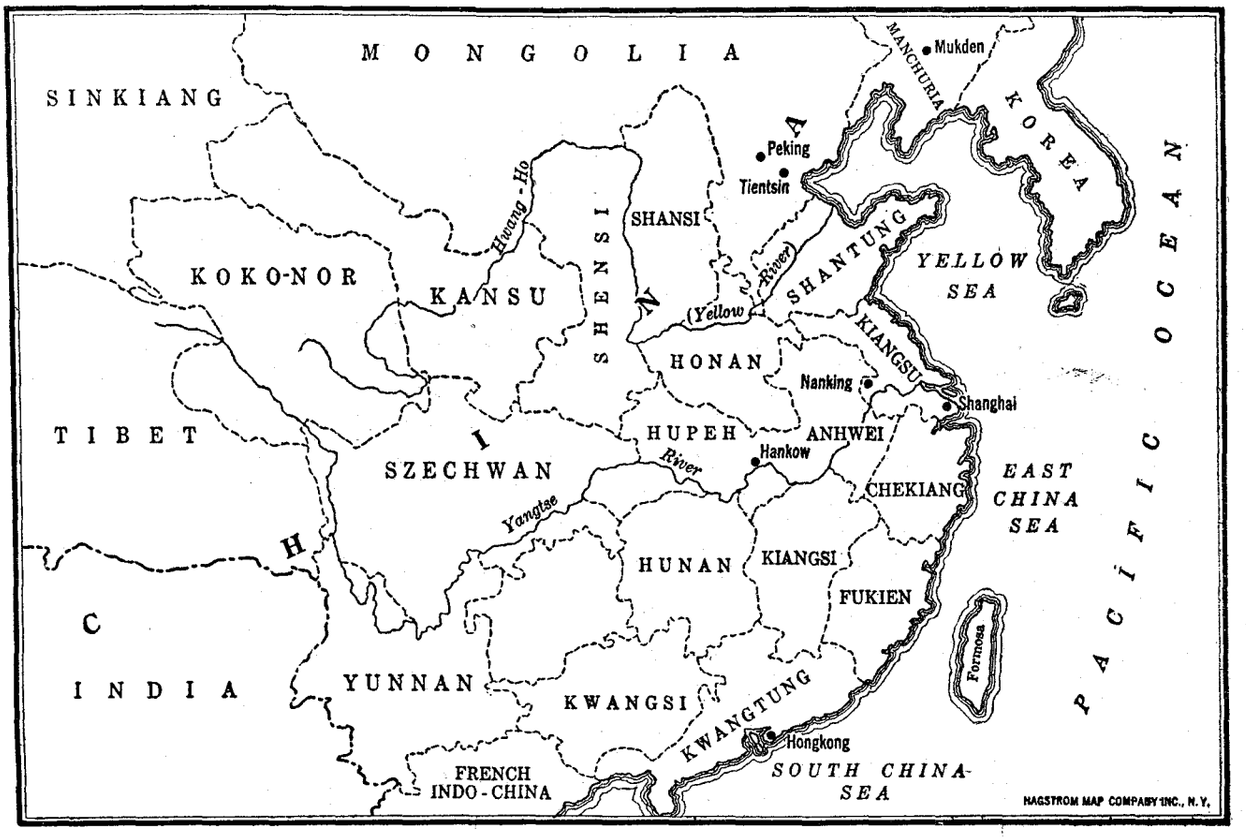

The Chinese Provinces and Treaty Ports

warpath. They fall into the lap of some foreign interest.

The foreign spheres of influence on the periphery of China act as lodestones for her different parts. They pull in various directions. Each section orients itself on some treaty port or foreign colony, and even when two ports are dominated by the same foreign Power, as in the case of Shanghai and Hongkong, their hinterlands refuse to unite. For this reason, China's unity is a Utopia until treaty ports, unequal treaties, extraterritoriality, and actual economic domination by foreigners along the Chinese seaboard are abolished.

Special privileges on the coast make the interior of China an economic vacuum. Few foreigners go where their gunboats cannot protect them. But the cancelation of extraterritorial rights would end the period of concentration in the maritime regions. China's mineral wealth remains unscratched. China continues a closed country because unusual conditions in the ports make it attractive to stay there and unattractive to work inland. The treaty ports prevent unification and hinder the establishment of a central government which could maintain order and promise safety in the interior. China's littoral, therefore, is over-developed while her vast bulk is under-developed. Provincial tuchuns accordingly tend to move from the hinterland, where tax levies yield little, to the coast, where revenue is heavy. And there they succumb to foreign influence.

Japan, England, and France have well-defined spheres of influence in China. The United States has none. America, moreover, disposes of sufficient surplus capital to invest in large quantities in China's natural wealth, whereas England is interested primarily in trade, and Japan concentrates on the resources of Manchuria. America gets less from special rights on the coast, and is in greater need of peace in the interior. Washington consequently favors Chinese unity. Britain, France, and Japan oppose it. They must oppose any movement, be it nationalism, communism, or American imperialism, which threatens to unite China and thereby weaken their regional footholds.

But as long as British and Japanese clash with American interests and until the latter, acting through the Chinese bourgeoisie, can crush the others, efforts to unite the country must fail. The Americanization or "Kemmererization" of China therefore becomes impossible, and without America Chiang Kai-shek or his successors remain mere incidents in Chinese social development. Alone, the Chinese bourgeoisie is too immature to unite China. And the moment it coalesces with the only foreign Power—the United States—whose economic interests demand unification, Japan and Britain are antagonized. China is too important to them. They cannot abdicate to America.

The great French Revolution and the Turkish nationalist revolution produced their Napoleon and Kemal Pasha because they opposed feudalism and foreign coalitions. But Chiang Kai-shek can neither dissociate himself from his landowning supporters nor defy the nations. Without them, he is powerless. With them, he is a tool. In theory and intention the unifier of China, Chiang is actually another Sun Chuan-fang projected into a more advanced stage of the Chinese revolution.

The Chinese national bourgeoisie is concentrated in Shanghai, Hankow, and a few large cities. It is economically weak. It cannot develop the resources of China

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single-handed, but it has graduated from the compradore stage and wishes to invest its own capital in business enterprises outside the limits of its treaty ports. Its landowning and trading interests extend beyond the precincts of its immediate metropoles. It is too full-blooded to remain confined in Shanghai or Hankow or Tientsin.

Such an economic class must advocate a strong central government which can maintain order, protect ways of communication, abolish the likin, and collect customs. It must, since it is too poor itself for the gigantic task of industrializing and opening up the Chinese continent, seek the cooperation of a foreign country that frowns on provincial tuchuns, regional economy, and regional governments. That country is the United States.

The French revolution enthroned the bourgeoisie, the Turkish revolution the peasantry, the Bolshevik revolution the proletariat. But the Chinese revolution has not given undisputed victory to any one class capable of mastering the country. The fighting will probably go on until this happens, or until temporary exhaustion intervenes.

Feng and Yen dominate districts where feudal and petty bourgeois influences are sufficiently powerful to resist the penetration efforts of the Shanghai super-bourgeoisie. If Nanking and Shanghai extended their authority, the department store would push the small provincial trader to the wall, the big bank would crush the petty money-lender in the interior, and the likin and its revenue would be taken from inland governors. The feudal barons, moreover, must oppose the bourgeoisie in China as they have opposed it elsewhere throughout history. These interests linked together make a potent combination which Nanking has not been able to overcome.

Chang Fa-kwei operates in districts most stirred by peasant revolts. In 1927 he sided with the Left Kuomintang, and at one time even leaned toward the Communists. Purely Communist military units roam about in his territory either independently of him or as his chance allies. Chiang Kai-shek symbolizes the bourgeoisie, which prefers a temporary truce with feudal-middle-class elements in order to be free to smash a revolutionary tendency.

Anti-bourgeois classes in China, in other words, can dispute the rule of the bourgeoisie. Hence the incessant fighting. Because certain foreign Powers know that a victory of the bourgeoisie would end their favored position, they hold Nanking in leash. Japan and Britain need a stalemate. Hence the indecisive tug of war.

Hoover's Fillip to Business

By LEO WOLMAN

WE should look for no miracles out of Washington and the Hoover conferences with the leaders of American business. At the most the administration program is a highly tentative and experimental attempt to restore business confidence and to promote a faster pace of industry wherever acceleration can be achieved without creating new and more serious difficulties. So stated, these steps toward the stabilization of business may appear to be hesitant and ineffectual; but it is doubtful whether any Supreme Economic Council or Americanized Gosplan could, in the present state of our knowledge, construct a more satisfactory program and accomplish much more with it.

The root of the problem lies, of course, in finding an acceptable explanation of the causes of business recession and revival; in discovering what crucial factor or factors account for a slowing down of business on one occasion and for a snappy revival on another. The collapse of the stock market, while it may have hastened things and produced an attitude of extreme caution among both business men and consumers, is probably only one, and perhaps not the most important, factor in the present situation. Acute students of the course of business had for some time been predicting a decline in the level of business by the close of 1929, partly because they anticipated in late 1929 and early 1930 a repetition of the experience of 1924 and 1927, and partly because the markets for both automobiles and private and commercial (but not industrial) housing appeared already to be in or rapidly approaching a state of glut. In other words, it was becoming increasingly difficult to dispose of apartments, office space, single and double houses, and automobiles.

It is one thing to describe this condition and quite another to account for it or to explain it away. The whole theory, in fact, of saturation points, whether of a single group of industries or of the whole of industry, is still in an elementary state. I venture to say that there is nothing more surprising and inexplicable in the economic history of the United States than the accelerated tempo of American industry since 1922. Such explanations as there are, are explanations after the fact and not the material for forecast. The most elaborate inquiry yet made into the characteristics of an economic period, the results of which were published in the two volumes of "Recent Economic Changes," yielded a mass of invaluable material for further analysis but failed to disclose the determining factors in the revival of 1922 and in the persistence of an extraordinary high level of industrial production since. The maintenance of high wages in the face of declining wholesale and retail prices and the resultant rise in the purchasing power of the consumers of the country is the most widely accepted reason for our post-war prosperity. But this may very well be only another instance of putting the cart before the horse. The effective cause may again be sought in the prevalence of a new type of credit inflation, such as may arise from instalment selling. But here, too, such evidence as we have is incomplete, inconclusive, and contradictory. There may also be sheer physical limits to the growth of a market for a single commodity like the automobile, but no one knows what those limits are.

Under the circumstances, the course of action open to any public administration is reasonably clear. It must discover available stimuli to business and make arrangements for their prompt and effective application. It cannot act like war governments and create a rapidly expanding market for all goods and services by systematic and continuous credit

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inflation, because no responsible agency of the public can afford to exchange the incalculable future consequences of inflation for an immediate and temporary respite. Such enterprises as it encourages and such employment as it furnishes must rest on a secure economic foundation.

This foundation is at this time to be found in the United States in the projected construction enterprises of both private business and public agencies. Since the close of the war there has been a vast and rapid increase in the expenditures for construction by nearly all American units of government. New and expanding requirements for transportation facilities in our congested cities; a huge road-building program which now annually accounts for one and one-half billions of dollars a year; a wide variety of public improvements that reflect the rising standards of living of most American communities, together have produced annual expenditures of easily more than $2,500,000,000 and give employment directly to more than 700,000 persons, not to speak of the indirect employment of a substantial number engaged in the production of materials and the like.

Many of the States and municipalities, and all of the largest of them, are far behind in their programs of subway building, bridge construction, the elimination of grade crossings, and the extension and improvements of sewerage and water-supply systems. If to these normal developments were added only a portion of the proposals of the various city and regional planning commissions, public construction programs for the next years would assume unprecedented proportions. New York City alone has a projected construction program easily in excess of one billion dollars, while its present expenditures for public works run less than $200,000,000 a year. Where such programs are for the moment retarded, the delay is due, in large measure, to well-known administrative blockades and not to fundamental economic considerations. Quasi-public enterprises like the railroads and other public utilities appear to be in a similar state. The railroads, as part of their long-time program to strengthen their competitive position, contemplate expanding budgets of electrification, the improvement of terminal facilities, and similar measures. The electrical and power public utilities, like all growing industries, spend annually huge sums for equipment and for plant improvement and extension. It is estimated that their expenditures for these purposes last year were approximately $800,000,000. A substantial increase in the expenditures of these public and private agencies might easily in the next year more than compensate for the decline or loss in residential and office construction, which fell substantially in 1929 and may conceivably remain on even a lower level during 1930.

Underlying financial and business conditions appear to be altogether favorable to rising expenditures in these fields. The flotations of public bond issues, which were withheld during the past year and a half because of an unfavorable bond market, are now made more attractive by the improved state of the money market. The public-utility companies are credited with unusually large cash reserves and surpluses which would enable them to finance these proposed projects without strain. It is hard to find in this type of stimulation any of the dangers that are usually associated with attempts to produce an artificial business activity.

There are, to be sure, knotty administrative problems in the way of carrying out these programs with the least friction and the greatest speed. The railroads are on their part influenced in their present policy by the unsettled state of the consolidation program. State, municipal, county, and federal governments are in many cases slow and circumspect in the exercise of their administrative functions. Effective and large-scale acceleration of public construction throughout the country requires the whole-hearted cooperation of thousands of public officials and often the scrapping of a cumbrous but traditional executive procedure. It may be that these results can be achieved only through the pressure of organized public opinion. And to this end, the Hoover conferences may be regarded as having contributed an indispensable service.

Whatever the outcome of these measures may be (and their effects are bound to be confused), it seems clear that the essence of a successful program of this nature is speed. Of much greater importance than the increase of the total volume of construction during the year 1930 is the rate at which such construction will proceed during the next months. Once factories are shut down and pay-rolls reduced, there are set in operation cumulative forces which are much harder to control and to arrest. If, on the other hand, an immediate increase in the orders for building materials, tools, and machinery, and the prompt employment of increasing numbers in road building and other construction have the anticipated effect of diffusing employment in industry generally, the more remote future may well be expected to take care of itself. It is not to be supposed that all the thousands who may be laid off in the automobile industry will find employment in these new projects, although some of them may. But such direct transference of labor is not the essential factor. The point is to add immediately to the prevailing volume of employment and business in the expectation that this new activity will constitute that fillip to industry which it now seems to require. President Hoover's experiment with the public stabilization of industry is, for this country at least, unprecedented in scale and conception. It is fortunate that it is being tried at a time when the whole American industry appears to be free from those excesses that presage severe and prolonged industrial depression. The hysterical rumors that followed the succession of breaks in the stock market can find no support in the basic facts of prevailing American business. Inventories continue low; stocks of retailers and wholesalers are not excessive; wholesale prices fluctuate in a narrow range and on low levels; and the general efficiency of industry has been more than sustained. If under the influence of these friendly circumstances the experiment is found to work, we shall then have taken another step in the direction of a controlled and more orderly industry. During the past ten years many business concerns have shown that a considerable degree of stabilization can be attained by carefully planned individual action. President Hoover is trying to marshal the forces of both public and private business for another forward step.

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Russia from a Car Window
VI. The Soviets and the Future

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

I. The Care of the Children

"THE hope of Russia's future lies in its young girls," declared in Moscow one of the wisest writers on Russia, himself Russian-born and anti-Communist. There can be no question that the Soviets are seeking to build up a superb race. While there are still some wild children not yet picked up and put into asylums and homes, the bulk of the children we saw looked well-fed, healthy, and strong. When the weather permits, their little bodies are freely exposed to the sun, just as one sees so many laborers on the railways and roads stripped to the waist that one forgets to notice their beautiful red-brown color. Everything possible is being done for the oncoming generation—besides pumping them full of communistic doctrine and teaching them to hate the capitalism they are not allowed to study or to understand.

In the beautiful health resorts in the Caucasus, notably at Kislovodsk, we saw so many really beautifully developed young men and women that some of us began to wonder if the Soviets were not deliberately seeking to restore the body and its care to the position it held among the ancient Greeks. Certainly there were many taking sun-baths and wandering over the hills in scant attire who looked in the pink of health and moved with the grace and ease of trained dancers and runners. At eight o'clock one night, as we were returning to Vladikavkaz from Tiflis after a day of scorching heat and clouds of dust, our autobus picked up three Russian boys, the youngest nine years old, the eldest fourteen. They had been hiking barefoot since four o'clock that morning, climbing first from Kazbek Station to the glacier on the great Kazbek Mountain which is eight hundred feet higher than Mont Blanc. There they walked several hundred yards on the ice without shoes. Then they turned back, went down to Kazbek Station, and started for Vladikavkaz, thirty-two and one-half miles away. When we picked them up we had passed dozens and dozens of other young people, the boys wearing trunks only, although the night was chilly, their packs on wagons, all climbing the seven thousand feet to Kazbek Station. Our three little hikers were fresh and in no wise overtired. They had just walked twelve kilometers without a rest and were planning to reach their homes at Vladikavkaz at three in the morning with nothing but mountain water and the huge chunks of black bread carried on their backs to sustain them. It is no wonder that high hopes are being built on children such as these. Maurice Hindus, too, believes in Russia's youth, and begged me to visit him and observe it in a city of 100,000 persons in the Ukraine. "I have traveled," he said, "in many countries, but I have seen no young people like these. They are free, they have liberty, but they know how to honor it."

No one can deny that there is in Russia today a remarkably effective schooling of the youth in civics and in the doctrine of service to a society which holds out no hope whatever of great material rewards; that schooling is probably even more rigid and self-disciplined than the youth training of the Italian Fascists. These Russian boys and girls in the Pioneers and Comsomols of the ages of ten to twenty-three are eagerly embracing a life which for a long time to come will mean great privation, at best an income of $150 a month with practically no worldly possessions. If this plan of life is definitely accepted by these young people, with understanding and appreciation of what it all means in the way of self-denial and self-sacrifice, together with the enthusiasm they are now displaying, it will be one of the most amazing examples of what religious and patriotic fervor can do which the world has yet witnessed. One hesitates to think what frightful, soul-destroying disillusionment will come to this generation if the Soviet experiment collapses.

II. Education Not Free

As for education, we have George Bernard Shaw's recent word for it that Russia is the only country which is properly educating its children—a dangerous generalization which may be true in spots. It is probably correct that the intention to give the most modern instruction is there. But there can be no ideal education where there is such a deliberate attempt to close the minds of the children to other things of life than those ordained by the Soviets. Free modern education implies the right to browse unhampered in every field, to examine and judge every theory of morals, economics, and government—nothing more and nothing less. Of this kind of freedom one finds curiously little understanding in Russia. When we of the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce delegation reached Kharkov, we were heartily greeted by the members of the Ukrainian Literary Society. "We welcome you of the American press to a country which has the freest press in the world"—this was the opening remark of the head of the society. We accepted the challenge. It speedily appeared that his idea of liberty of the press included only those editors who favored the communist doctrine, precisely as Mussolini permits editorial freedom in Italy only to those who whole-heartedly support Fascism and suppress everything he does not care to have printed—in other words, who are willing to half-inform or to deceive the Italian people.

When I asked our Ukrainian friend if I would be permitted to establish a Ukrainian *Nation* in Kharkov, land of the "freest press in the world," and denounce the communist system there, he said: "You would be allowed to print one issue and no more." Asked if Ukrainian anti-communists would be allowed to publish their views he replied: "Oh, no, we could not allow a handful of dissenters who are not 5 per cent of the Ukrainian population to disturb the progress of the country." "Then," came the challenge of a young American auditor, "you would say that capitalist America would be justified in suppressing entirely the existing communist press in America since the American communists do not number anything like 5 per cent of the population?" The answer ran to the effect that if any more such embar-

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rassing questions were asked it would be necessary to terminate the conference! If this reveals an amazing mentality and hopeless ethical confusion, it is no more striking than the assertion of the official and unofficial defenders of Mussolini that Fascism is, in its final analysis, the "very essence of democracy"! But it is precisely this mentality which in large measure controls in Russia today and insists that this "freedom" points the way for the liberation of the working classes the world over and that it will insure the triumphant success of the Bolshevik program.

III. Human Nature and the Soviets

Will it? It is easy to say that it will not if you are opposed on humanitarian and ethical grounds, or if you believe so completely in the present capitalistic system as to hold that no other economic organization of human life is possible. It is still easier to scoff at the whole communist program with a facile "You can't change human nature," and the assertion that therefore an acquisitive system of life is necessary to stimulate the human individual into advancing himself and his fellows spiritually and materially. To such doubters the self-denial of the Communists in restricting themselves to the barest living wage, and the refusal of highly educated engineers, familiar with pre-war capitalistic conditions, to accept any advance in salary is also unconvincing. The scoffers, in their cynicism, insist that these Communists either are secretly getting graft, or are possessed of a fanatical fervor which is sure to burn itself out before long. The latter is the commonest argument against the survival of the Soviets. No such passion for an impossible ideal, the critics assert, can long dominate men's minds or long induce them to live bare and colorless lives on the very edge of destitution and undernourishment. "You can't change human nature," they chant.

But the fact is that you *can* change human nature, or the habits and tribal customs with which the nature of man is usually confused. You *can* teach him to live for others and make tremendous sacrifices for others for the commonweal. Certainly no one can foretell into what extraordinary form the Soviets may not mold the Pioneers and Comsomols, and especially the young girls on whom so much hope is based. They have had these children from babyhood up to impress and mold and direct as they see fit. History tells us that great waves of asceticism and self-denial swept over Europe centuries ago. Here is another one in Russia.

Then one must not judge Russian human nature by our own. Conditions which we would not stand for a day Russians may endure for generations. Certainly they are now on the road to becoming the completely obedient tools of the dogmatists who rule them, who are also making of Russia a frightful prison-house for the millions who dissent and would gladly flee from their native soil to other lands. So far, therefore, as the psychological factors are concerned there is nothing improbable or impossible in the belief that the Russian people as a whole will yet definitely accept the Soviet scheme of things as an endurable way of life and will come to approve of it. If their economic conditions should improve rapidly they will, of course, react the more favorably and yield themselves to a life of abnegation as long as it may be necessary, in the hope that gradually their rulers will be able to employ the nation's surplus in enriching their lives and giving to each worker some of the good and costly things which in capitalist countries only the rich man may enjoy. When that time comes, the Soviet rulers say, they will gradually lift the ban on free speech and free thought; elsewhere I have already expressed my doubts about the eagerness of despots to lay down their tasks. At present, however, Stalin is in the saddle as never before; the opposition yields to him at every point; the omens are all favorable for him.

The only question seems to be not so much whether the Russian can be induced to accept communism, but whether he can endure the process of industrialization, and whether the rulers themselves will not in their haste over-extend themselves and topple over their entire structure. As Russia, because of its make-up and slight industrialization, was the most favorable place in the world to try the communist experiment, so the Russian was the best person to try it on. But the readiness with which some workers in America accept the intolerable working conditions which would cause ferment and grave unrest in other countries, and the ease with which the iron Fascist regime has been forced upon the Italians, are proof that one can readily impose hateful and extraordinarily trying conditions upon a people and prevent their rising to regain their liberty. I repeat, Russia must submit today—and tomorrow. If the Stalins of the next few years can keep their ship of state off the rocks of depreciation and bankruptcy the world will have seen the establishment of a tremendous new force to be reckoned with.

IV. The Force of a Great Ideal

Finally, no one must underestimate the driving force of a great ideal and of the teaching of unity to the Russian masses. The concern of the Czarist regime was to keep them ignorant, uneducated, depressed, serfs in fact if not in name, incapable of joint action. Now they have in considerable degree become articulate. They have it driven in on them that they are not only the custodians of the new Russia, but that they have in their hands the future of the race itself. Well, it is a profoundly serious thing to infect a whole people with the belief that they have become the prophets of human redemption, to give them a new idea to cherish and, if need be, die for. That belief may insure Soviet success. It is today a most stimulating and reviving force; it unquestionably in part explains the tremendous thirst for adult education, and it gives life and point to the present otherwise dreary and pinched existence of the masses. They know whither they are headed, however hard the road.

Your Russian is an amazing realist. I am astonished every now and then to meet émigrés who can face the facts, who realize the guilt that was theirs, who admit that their class looted Russia for its own selfish aims. As I write, I see the face of a noblewoman, long an attendant of a Czarina, owner once of one of the finest houses on the Neva. After telling me of her several arrests and long imprisonment for no cause save that she had a title, and her loss of every ruble she possessed, she calmly said: "Well, we who ruled Russia earned just what has come to us, if only because of those Jewish pogroms that the Czar permitted to take place, although some of us protested—in vain." She, too, could feel that Russia now had an objective besides the further enriching of the rich and privileged.

Here I must record a statement made to me by a man whom Louis Fischer, *The Nation's* able Moscow correspondent, introduced to me as "the ablest man in Russia."

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I am constantly traveling to Berlin, London, Brussels, and Paris. I meet on the trains and on my arrival in those cities Russians who have just left their country. They are always wild with enthusiasm at escaping for a time from what they call their Russian prison—you must understand that the men are government officials or engineers, or business men allowed to go abroad because their missions are official or unofficial. "Oh, how wonderful it is here," they say, "how wonderful to get back to the old gay life!" They revel in the dance halls, the cafes on the sidewalk, the well-dressed crowds, and all the charms of capitalist society. But when I come back after four or five weeks and call upon these same people they do not look so happy, but seem rather depressed. I say to them: "What is the matter; isn't it all just as nice as it was when you first arrived and you were so happy to have escaped from your Russian prison?" "No," they reply, "we are not as happy." "Why, what's the matter?" "Well, it's all so bourgeois." "But you are bourgeois yourself?" "Yes, but look at the faces of the people around us in this restaurant. They are all like that, so sordid and materialistic. We shall be glad to get back to Russia." "To get back to your prison?" "Yes; well, you see it is bad enough there, but after all they have got a plan, a program, an ideal, even if you don't like it. At least in Russia we are working for something. Here they are just out to make money and have a good time; here materialism rules."

There you have some of the strength of the Soviet movement.

V. Where the Leaders Have Blundered

As to the possibility of Russia becoming democratic, there is certainly in the Soviet form of government no natural obstacle to its becoming a popular one just as it has no relationship to communism. I once heard Secretary Lansing say to the American correspondents at his reception room in the Hotel Crillon in Paris during the Peace Conference that he saw no reason why the Soviet form of political organization might not be as democratic as our own, and no one will accuse Mr. Lansing of having been unduly favorable to the Bolsheviks. It could certainly be made workable in a capitalist society. But the Russian leaders have made the grave mistake of identifying their new form of government with a bloody despotism, precisely as communism has, partly through facts and partly through hostile propaganda, become identified with violence. The average American, and especially those legislators who have done that un-American thing of legislating against a state of mind and have made membership in the American Communist Party a crime, has come wrongly to believe that communism necessarily connotes bloodshed, the violent seizure of private property, and governmental terrorism of the worst kind. I suppose that such violent convulsions as that which took place in Russia and the French Revolution must inevitably be bloody when they occur. The more the pity that the Soviet rulers of today feel that there is no other way of maintaining their power except through violence, terrorism, and murder. They cannot, I believe, have the sympathy of liberals the world over as long as they pursue this policy. They cannot hope for friendly cooperation from those who wish to set the workingman free in other countries and give him every one of the benefits that he has under the Soviet regime as long as they rule as they do.

It is no answer to say that these Soviet leaders know their problem and their people; that their great objective of human happiness warrants their methods, that the end justifies the means; that, should the Soviets be thrown out, Russia would disintegrate into the most appalling anarchy, and that they resort to no more bloodshed than is absolutely necessary. This has been the language of despots from time immemorial, and when they have been overthrown nations and peoples have not disintegrated, but have gone on to better things. It is a fact that the finest ideals may be ruined by a wrong approach or by the use of wicked measures to attain them. For myself I can see no compromise on this question, no argument which shatters the intensity of my belief that those who take the sword shall perish by the sword.

No one who has witnessed this Russian experiment and sensed its significance can remain unmoved by the human elements involved and by its dramatic quality. The deeper, therefore, the regret that the men who are doing these titanic things are savagely crushing their critics or opponents, are shooting, imprisoning, and exiling precisely as did the Czar. The whole world yearns for a state which shall really be controlled by the masses and not by handfuls of men temporarily in control of powers no group of mortals should have. Yet the Bolsheviks, with all their desire for peace, justice, liberty, and equality for a nation of workers, offer, side by side with tremendous benefits, the methods of a Caesar, a Cromwell, a Franz Joseph, a Nicholas, and a Mussolini.

[*This is the last of a series of six articles. They will shortly be reprinted in pamphlet form. Another important article on Russia by Louis Fischer, Moscow correspondent of* The Nation, *will appear in an early issue.*—Editor The Nation.]

Secretary Wilbur at Boulder Dam

By RUTH FINNEY

WHEN Secretary of the Interior Wilbur makes final disposition of the power at Boulder Dam the attitude of the Hoover Administration toward the future of the country's power resources will be known. In the present Boulder Dam controversy the issue between public and private development is drawn as clearly as it could be drawn. Until hearings held recently before Secretary Wilbur at which his tentative plan for disposing of the power was discussed this had not been generally apparent. His allocation, at first glance, seemed to give States and municipalities such generous treatment as to make complaint of his concessions to power companies seem captious; but at these hearings the matter appeared in a new light. City after city registered its protest against the Secretary's proposal to give the Southern California Edison Company one-fourth of all the power to be generated at the great dam which is to be built by the federal government. In two days of discussion one man, and only one, spoke in favor of the Wilbur plan. He was W. C. Mullendore, attorney for the Southern California Edison Company, the great concern that distributes power throughout this part of California.

(*Continued on page 718*)

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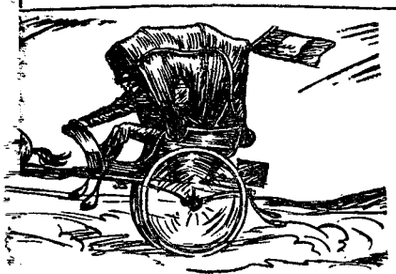

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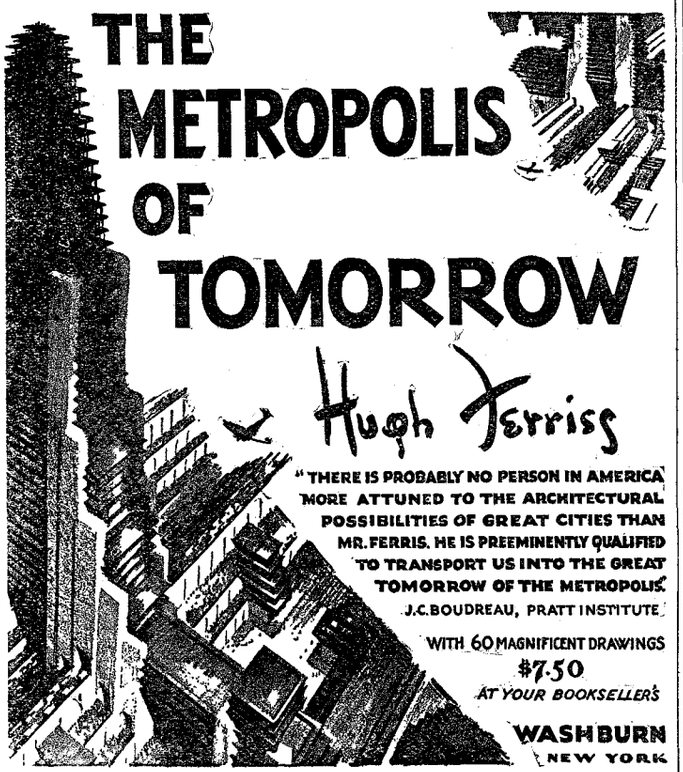
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This is the situation. The use of all power generated at Boulder Dam for the next fifty years is about to be assigned to some one. In the second week of December Secretary Wilbur is to sign some sort of contract which will dispose of this great resource for almost two generations. It is necessary that such a contract be signed because the Boulder Dam Act safeguards the government's $165,000,000 investment by providing that not a stone shall be turned toward construction of the dam or any other phase of the work until valid contracts have been executed guaranteeing in advance repayment with interest of the cost of the project.

There are more than twenty bidders for the power from the dam. Several bidders would like to take the whole output, 550,000 firm horsepower. There is no doubt that the necessary contracts could be secured from any one of several sources, all safeguarding the federal government effectively. The problem is to divide the power among the applicants according to the public interest as the act provides. Secretary Wilbur announced a tentative division late in October. For the Metropolitan Water District of southern California he set aside 50 per cent of all the power. The Metropolitan Water District is an organization of a dozen cities which must get drinking water for their future needs from the Colorado River. They cannot get the water except by pumping it across a range of mountains. It is for this that their power is to be used. Mr. Wilbur had no choice but to give them all the power they need for this purpose since Congress specified in the Boulder Dam Act that one of its primary motives was to make drinking water available to the peoples who need it. The district has no authority to go into the power business in any way. None of the power allotted to this body will be resold.

The rest of the power the Secretary divided evenly between the city of Los Angeles and the Southern California Edison Company, reserving 18 per cent of the total, each for Nevada and Arizona to use within their own borders if they decide they wish to do so, and reserving 4 per cent for use of small cities of the Southwest. Thus the Edison Company is to receive half the power available for use as power in southern California, for distribution among wholesale and retail customers. It is this which has startled and disturbed the cities that fought so long and gallantly for passage of the Boulder Dam bill, expecting to receive from the federal government a fair proportion of the power it makes available. While the Edison Company used all its resources to defeat the bill, these cities kept up their fighting courage by a vision of a future independent of the company.

They felt sure of this independence because the Boulder Dam bill as passed by Congress specifies that where cities or States and private companies make conflicting applications for power, the public agencies shall be given the same preference rights as are set forth in the federal Water Power Act:

> In issuing preliminary permits . . . or licenses the commission shall give preference to applications therefor by States and municipalities, provided the plans for the same are deemed by the commission equally well adapted, or shall within a reasonable time be made equally well adapted, to conserve and utilize in the public interest the navigation and water resources of the region.

There has been no dispute, the surprised city spokesmen pointed out to Mr. Wilbur, as to the equal acceptability of their plans for using power and those of the Edison Company. There has been no doubt of their financial responsibility. They feel that Congress plainly intended them to have this power. They do not understand under what interpretation of the law the Edison Company can be given any of it. Their interpretation of the preference clauses was strongly supported at the hearing by Representative Phil Swing, one of the authors of the bill, and Senator Key Pittman of Nevada, who was a member of the Senate committee which framed it.

If the Edison Company is given what Mr. Wilbur plans to give it, this is what will happen. The cities will have to buy their power back from the Edison Company instead of direct from the government. They will have to get the power somehow. Their growth demands it. They will, of course, pay a greater price to the Edison Company than will be charged by the government.

Los Angeles owns a large power-generating plant and municipal distributing system. Its power bureau does a $14,000,000 business annually. It supplies two-thirds of the residents of the city with current for light and heat. The other third buy power from the Edison Company. In the twelve years the city has been operating its system it has forced reductions in power rates which have saved the people of the nearby territory $25,000,000. But the generating plant is not large enough to supply the needs of all the people, so the city now buys power from the Edison Company and retails it, paying the company $3,700,000 a year. If it gets the power it wants from Boulder Dam it will not have to buy this power from the Edison Company, and further rate reductions will be possible. The city will be able, also, to serve the other third of its population which now has to depend on the Edison Company.

The city of Pasadena has its own electric plant. Its people used to pay the Edison Company twelve cents a kilowatt hour for current. They now pay the city four cents. But the city needs power from Boulder Dam to meet its growing needs. The city of Burbank has its own distributing system. It buys power from the Edison Company now at nine mills per kilowatt hour, and retails it to its people. If it is allowed to buy Boulder Dam power from the government it will have to pay only four or five mills per kilowatt hour. Glendale is in much the same situation, and so are the other smaller cities. They are unable to construct generating plants for themselves, though they believe in public power development.

"But," said Mr. Mullendore of the Edison Company, "if you wish to serve the public interest, you must give the power to us. We serve four-fifths of the people in the Southwest, and turn three-fourths of the wheels of industry. We represent these people before you, for there is no one else to speak for them. Shall they be denied a share of the benefits coming from an investment of the federal government?" A remarkable argument, but Mr. Mullendore made it. "Did you serve the interests of this public when you tried for many years to keep the Boulder Dam bill from passing?" he was asked. To this there seemed to be no particular answer. "Fortunately," said Senator Pittman, "Congress has determined what is the public interest. It has determined that it is to the public interest to let a municipality serve its people rather than a private company."

Power allocation was not the only phase of the Wilbur plan complained of at the recent hearings. Secretary Wilbur

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has rejected the plan for government construction, equipment, and operation of the Boulder Dam power plant provided for in the Swing-Johnson bill, and worked out instead a motley scheme which presents the most complex and difficult situation that could be devised, according to W. B. Mathews, attorney for the Los Angeles Bureau of Water and Power. The Secretary plans to have the federal government build the power plant, but the generating machinery which must be imbedded in this structure, fastened to its foundation, floor, and walls, an integral part of the whole, he does not intend the government to own, though Congress has authorized him to spend the necessary money to instal it. The city of Los Angeles must instal the machinery, he has ruled, the costs of installation and operation to be borne jointly by the city, the Edison Company, and the small allottees of power. Such a plan will cost three million dollars more than if the machinery were installed by the federal government. It is hard to see why the Secretary should favor an arrangement of this kind which seems disadvantageous to everybody concerned.

And while Mr. Wilbur proposes to make the city of Los Angeles the contracting agent for power he provides for a board of control "to act with the city of Los Angeles in operation of the plant." On this board Los Angeles is to be in a minority. It is to have two members, the Edison Company is to have two members, and a fifth member is to be named by the Secretary of the Interior.

The small cities of southern California have joined Los Angeles in protesting against this arrangement. Without exception they asked for operation of the plant by the federal government, or else by the city and the Metropolitan Water District. If the Edison Company is to receive any power by waiver by the public agencies of their preference rights, this is no reason for divided authority in operation and maintenance of the plant, Los Angeles argues. And if she is overruled and forced to consent to operation of the plant by a board of control, she will never consent, according to her spokesmen, to permitting the Edison Company such a large representation on it as the Secretary suggests, which amounts to giving the Edison Company one-quarter of the power, none of the responsibility, and two-fifths of the authority over the power with an excellent chance of capturing complete control of the board.

Throughout the two-day hearings, Secretary Wilbur maintained an inscrutable attitude as he listened to condemnation of his plan. He asked only one question of importance. "Just from a general standpoint of federal policy," he said to W. B. Mathews of Los Angeles, "would you think it desirable for the federal government to start in equipping power plants for the municipalities of the United States?" This of course is not precisely what Congress had in mind when it undertook a $165,000,000 project to protect its citizens from flood and drought, and made provision for safeguarding its investment by selling power, finally providing that since it was selling power, States and cities should have first opportunity to purchase. But then "I am spending very little time trying to find out what was in the mind of Congress," said Mr. Wilbur; "I have to abide by the bill as passed." And the last part of that statement, at least, the mayors and city attorneys and city engineers gathered before him prayerfully indorsed, and pointed to their preference clauses.

In the Driftway

TWO dispatches appeared on different pages of the same issue of a New York newspaper recently which the Drifter thinks should have been side by side. A dispatch from Helena, Arkansas, told how a judge there ordered the destruction of a kind of electric chair used in the sheriff's office for the purpose of getting confessions from prisoners. The chair had been in use a long time and had been rebuilt three times. The judge's knowledge of it came through the statement of a Negro in court that the chair had been used to extort from him a false confession that he had killed his step-son. When the pain became unbearable, the Negro said, he told the officers in charge that he would sign a confession if they would turn off the current.

* * * * *

ON another page of the same newspaper was a dispatch from Seattle, Washington, describing another device used with prisoners, known as a "lie detector." It, too, had been used to obtain a confession from an alleged murderer, but no judge had ordered it destroyed. On the contrary, the dispatch was apparently intended to gain approbation for the device as a new application of science toward the detection of crime. As described, the "lie detector" consists of two leather plates which go under the arms, with a chain at the back to hold them in place. A rubber tube wound around one arm registers the blood pressure, while an electric wire leads to a needle which traces a record of the respiration and blood pressure. So far, so good. The instrument itself is not one of torture. But the description of the way in which it was used, although hailed by the prosecuting attorney as a great step forward in the campaign against crime, left the Drifter with precisely the same feeling about the "lie detector" as about the device used in Arkansas. In describing a *seven-day session* with his prisoner the prosecuting attorney said:

> The entire examination, for six or eight hours each day, has centered around the question: "Where is Bassett's body?"
>
> We questioned him over and over, perhaps a hundred times: "Is it in a lake?" "Is it in the Sound?" "Is it in a well?" On all these questions, if he answered, the answer was "No," and in any case a negative reaction was registered.
>
> We found he would not answer any question relating to cemeteries. When we worked along that line he struggled, threw his arms about, feigned fainting spells . . .
>
> We had a plate made showing every grave in a Swedish cemetery, but Mayer positively refused to look at it.
>
> The most force that we used on him was last Sunday. When Mr. Keeler had just finished a series of questions on the graves and cemeteries about Bothell, Mayer, suddenly roused, sprang like a cat and smashed the machine.

* * * * *

EVEN then the inquisition did not stop. The prisoner was seized, shackled, and sent back to his cell, and after the machine had been repaired the examination was resumed while the alleged criminal lay on his cot wearing an "Oregon boot"—whatever that may be. "We gave him one day's rest in the last week," said the attorney.

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THAT kind of treatment, the Drifter thinks, is torture, and although a description of the "lie detector" sounds innocent, it is hard, when one stops to consider the subject, to see how the device can be used effectively without torturing the person to whom it is applied. Of course the torture is of a mental sort, but there will be few to say that it is any less barbaric on that account. The law, of course, gives a prisoner the right not to answer questions put to him. But this right is constantly invaded and flouted by police and prosecuting officers in the United States. If a prisoner refuses to talk at first, he is not let alone thereafter. He is besieged again and again. He is waked time after time during the night and urged to tell what he knows. He is confronted with all sorts of gruesome evidence. A deliberate effort is made to wear him down through sleeplessness and fright. All this is admitted—boasted about—by police and prosecuting officers. It has apparently come to be regarded as legal. Beyond such treatment are various illegal methods, always officially denied and yet known to be in use. The use of the "lie detector" seems quite as barbarous and unjustified as beating up a prisoner with a piece of rubber hose. Our entire criminal procedure is antiquated, cruel, and unjust, but perhaps its worst aspect is the way in which persons not yet convicted of any wrong-doing are tortured by what are held to be lawful means in the effort to wring confessions, true or otherwise, from them. THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

A Woman Protests

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In an interview in the New York *Times* following his recent arrival in this country, Mr. Bertrand Russell was quoted as saying, apropos of the excess of women teachers in the schools, that "the scientific attitude toward life can scarcely be learned from women." As yet I have not seen a single protest against this astonishing and unscientific statement. Neither has Mr. Russell complained that he was misquoted. Since a great many men and some women still entertain these atavistic ideas about the feminine intellect, such assertions coming from a man who is generally regarded as a leader of progressive thought are capable of doing much harm and ought not to be allowed to pass without criticism.

New York, October 28 MARY DUDDERIDGE

Mr. Russell Replies

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The quotation given in Miss Dudderidge's letter is substantially correct. I would explain, however, that I say nothing as to women's congenital capacities—it is only women as hitherto educated that I regard as unscientific in outlook. So are most men, but not all. America seems to me to have less respect for fact than any other civilized country, and I attribute this partly to feminine influence. I hold that children, from six on, should have at least one man among their teachers.

I am afraid this explanation makes matters worse, but I shall probably be out of the country before there is time for maenads to tar and feather me.

New Orleans, November 11 BERTRAND RUSSELL

History as She Is Taught

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The State of Ohio requires every senior to study American history. The instructor here is a lieutenant in the United States army and a declared nationalist and imperialist. His classes are led to believe that Norman Thomas and Ramsay MacDonald are the two greatest scoundrels in the world today, that Isadora Duncan was the most immoral woman ever born, and that Russia is only a hell on earth. But this is not the worst! Nearly all of his students uphold him and believe his statements. There is a large organization under his leadership for promoting Americanism or militarism. When I asked this man to read some articles in *The Nation,* he told me it was the worst of all communistic publications and advised me not to read it.

Fostoria, Ohio, November 7 RICHARD SCHLATTER

Ostrich-like Optimism

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In true liberal fashion *The Nation* never fails to reveal a marvelous ostrich-like optimism. The naive faith and hope which it exhibits at all times in the obscene spectacle at Washington is astounding, but the pinnacle was touched in the issue of November 13 when you commented upon the executions in Russia. "The only creditable thing about it is that the Soviets (meaning, I presume, Bolshevik officials) seem to be telling the world of the killings they authorize." Isn't it marvelous! Murders are terrible things, but somehow they seem to be justified in your eyes if only there be a sufficient amount of candor.

The Bolsheviks' experiment has been doomed to failure from the first because of their faith in bullets and bayonets. Terrorism breeds but one thing, and that is its counterpart, and as long as the principle of authoritarianism holds in the world we are doomed to a vicious round of bloodshed, tyranny, and misery.

Santa Monica, Cal., November 15 PIERRE GORDON

The Socialists Object

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: We wish to take serious exception to your reference to Socialists as "doctrinaire" in your editorial of November 27. It is true that the Socialist movement has a rich tradition of brilliant generalizations promulgated by Marx, Engels, and a host of others. Perhaps their mode of expression did not imply that experimental attitude which is a cardinal tenet of modern thought. But Socialists feel that their tradition is not something to be crammed down the throats of its adherents but rather a fund of wisdom and experience. It has been repeated time and again that acceptance of such admittedly disputable theories as the economic interpretation of history, the class struggle, and surplus-value theories is not necessary in order to join the Socialist Party. Socialists themselves disagree on these matters. Nothing more is expected than adherence to the general proposition that the line of social and political progress today lies in the direction of expanding collectivism.

Today Socialists believe that the common ownership of the things necessary for our common life is justified not because Marx said so, not because it is eternally right at all times or under all conditions, but rather because they believe that this

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will most effectively work for the common good. This pragmatic attitude toward social questions has been incorporated in the thought of all intelligent Socialists. It is socialism as interpreted by such people that should be the object for criticism, just as the object for criticism of the existing economic order should be the best presentation of its case by its most intelligent spokesmen.

HARRY HASKEL
BENJAMIN HASKEL
CHARLES HASKEL

New York, November 28

Boulder Dam

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your editorial note on the Boulder Dam power allocation is a natural first reaction to Secretary Wilbur's decision. But the decision merits a judgment based on a more careful analysis. These facts should be considered by the friends of public ownership before they indulge in too much praise of the Secretary. Wilbur is willing to let the city of Los Angeles "operate" the Boulder Dam Power plant, but under the supervision of a board of control that will be dominated by power company representatives and the federal government (a reactionary influence, to say the least). The proposed representation is: one member for the city of Los Angeles, one for the Metropolitan Water District, one for the Southern California Edison Company, one for the Southern Sierras Power Company, and one for the Secretary.

It is not yet clear what the limits of this board's power would be—whether, for instance, it would be authorized to determine financing and operating costs in connection with the generating equipment and to modify the price of power to the contracting parties accordingly.

The private power companies, under the Wilbur plan, will wind up with better than 52 per cent of the total 550,000 horse-power to be generated, while the cities, the only public bodies equipped to distribute power for general industrial and commercial uses, will receive only a little more than 15 per cent. According to Harlan G. Palmer, member of our water and power commission, the States of Arizona and Nevada are to receive each 18½ per cent of the total. This leaves 63 per cent for division among the Metropolitan Water District, Los Angeles and other applicant cities, and the private power companies.

The water district gets 50 per cent of the 63 per cent, leaving 31.5 per cent to be divided equally between Los Angeles and other cities on the one hand and the Southern California Edison Company and the Southern Sierras Power Company on the other. The cities thus receive 15.75 per cent of the total.

In arriving at what the private companies will undoubtedly capture ultimately out of the Wilbur allocation, the fact should be borne in mind that neither Nevada nor Arizona is ready for public ownership distribution. No one familiar with the situation disputes that their allocations will be turned over to private corporations. The total power to be delivered to private agencies is therefore the sum of 37 per cent and 15.75 per cent, or 52.75 per cent. Such is the power division from a financial set-up requiring the investment by the water district and the cities of more than $300,000,000 in aqueduct, reservoirs, generating machinery, transmission lines. It doesn't look good!

Los Angeles is in need of at least an additional 100,000 horse power at the moment to free itself from the necessity of purchasing power at a fat profit to the Edison Company. Secretary Wilbur will not give us enough to end our bondage.

Los Angeles, California, November 8 RUBE BOROUGH

Dutton Books
of Versatility
Which have had Good Press

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Books, Music, Films, Drama

Not Spring

By JAMES RORTY

Not spring, nor any memory of youth
Burns as this autumn forest burns toward death.
The spark of birth, the candles that we light
Of hope and love to cheat our night—
How quickly they are quenched in this great flame
whose breath
Kindles each hill with fierce intolerable truth!

Now we have seen, and now the streams of power
Run full, for we are fed with that same fire
The green youth dreaded. Uphill to defeat
Our lean spring faltered but to meet
A stricken summer; now our desire
Is free and raging to its ultimate hour.

Not spring; from us no agony of birth
Is asked or needed; in a crimson tide
Upon the down-slope of the world
We, the elect, are hurled
In fearful power and brief pride
Burning at last to silence and dark earth.

Fine Rain

By MELVILLE CANE

Fine rain
Drills with steel
Through ice;
Strings silver berries
On black branches;
Threads
Sky to sod.

Religion in America

The Twilight of Christianity. By Harry Elmer Barnes. The Vanguard Press. $3.

IN this somewhat formidable volume—it runs beyond 130,000 words—Dr. Barnes displays all his virtues and all his defects. He is, on the credit side, immensely industrious in assembling facts, shrewd in discerning their implications, and courageous in stating those implications without evasion. On the debit side he is constantly over-prolix, often repetitious, and not infrequently somewhat vague. His book gives me the impression of having been put together in a hurry. If more time and labor had been expended upon it, it would have been 30 per cent shorter and at least 100 per cent better. But even as it stands it covers a wide and tangled field in a far from incompetent manner, and some of the points it makes are very effectively presented.

It had its origin in an address that Dr. Barnes made in December, 1928, before one of the sections of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. In that address he pointed out the obvious fact that religion, as it is practically encountered in the United States, has lost all contact with the ways of thought of enlightened men. The result was a storm from two quarters. On the one hand such pillars of orthodoxy as Cardinal Hayes leaped to the attack, and on the other hand there were protests from such scientific sentimentalists as Henry Fairfield Osborn. The double onslaught set Dr. Barnes to searching for evidence in rebuttal, and out of that search flowed the present book.

It is by no means a denunciation of religion per se. On the contrary, Dr. Barnes is willing to concede that "man's emotions, as well as his intellect, must be exploited in the service of social control, and religion is better adapted to performing this function than science." But he believes that the time has come, nevertheless, to throw overboard a great deal of worn-out theological baggage. How can it make men better to demand that they believe things that are palpably not true? And of what possible validity to the modern world are moral ideas formulated by a Teacher whose first postulate was that the end of the world was at hand? It is in his criticism of this *Interimsethik* that Dr. Barnes is most daring and at the same time most persuasive. He does not dodge any consequence of his denial. He believes that the time has come to abandon Jesus as a counselor and to set up a way of life that shall be based, not upon resignation, however noble, but upon hope. Man, to be sure, has not yet conquered his world, but he has at least got far enough to be beyond despair. No sensible person believes any more that the Day of Doom is at hand. Why, then, should anyone cling to an ethical scheme grounded upon that assumption?

What is needed is a reconsideration of the whole matter, not in the light of dubious revelation and childish speculation, but in that of established facts. It is idiotic to found an attitude toward alcohol, say, on the divinations of theologians, most of them patently ignorant and dishonest; the thing to do is to take the advice of men who understand the workings of the human body and something of the interactions between the body and the mind. And it is equally idiotic, in the domain of sexual relations, to go on poll-parroting the obscene nonsense of St. Paul—a man whose following today, if he could come back to earth, would be confined to the same class of yearners and half-wits who followed him while he lived. Here again guidance must be sought from men of science. Is it argued that certain practices and attitudes are dangerous and hence evil? Then let the question be determined by examining the actual facts. Some of them, of course, are still obscure, but enough have been brought into the light of day to make them far more trustworthy than the puerile dogmatism of Paul.

Dr. Barnes reviews at length the ideas of the chief American theologians of the moment, both fundamentalists and modernists. I suspect that his secret sympathy, like that of most fair men, goes to the former. They talk a great deal of nonsense, but there is at least a certain show of logic in their general position. Either the New Testament is true, or it is false. If it is true, then they can well afford to swallow a few absurdities in order to do God's will. The modernists are on far shakier ground. Seeking to edit the New Testament to their taste, they do almost as much damage to what they accept as to what they reject. Most of all, they run aground on the *Interimsethik*. Dr. Barnes calls upon them to abandon it, and his argument is so devastating that it is hard to imagine them making a plausible answer.

The book, as I have said, is too long. In some places its endless quotations and heavy laboring of the obvious make it downright dull. But it deserved to be written and, despite its

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defects, it should do some good. Most religious discussion in America is carried on in terms of unreality. There is no frank grappling with the basic problems. The fundamentalists yell too much, and the modernists are too eager to be polite. Dr. Barnes avoids both extremes. He states his case with good manners and yet does not conceal any of it. As for me, I am inclined to go farther than he does: I believe that, on the whole, religion is a curse to the human race, even when it is relatively mild and decent. But Barnes is for giving it at least one more trial, and here he presents his reasons very cogently.

H. L. MENCKEN

Women and Wages

Victorian Working Women. By Wanda Fraiken Neff. Columbia University Press. $3.50.

MRS. NEFF has put vast industry and much skill and humor into this early Victorian study of women in British industries and professions. Though her work is especially directed to the period from 1832 to 1850, when the earliest factory legislation was in the making, she wisely takes a liberal view of her chosen period, and from many literary and historical sources traces the evolution of the economic and social status of women before and after this period. She has fused two distinguishable purposes in her study: first, to give as accurate an account as possible of the actual situation of women wage-earners as set forth in statistical and other formal inquiries and in the current literature of the period; and second, to deduce therefrom an interpretation of the function of *belles-lettres* in handling social questions. Some readers will complain that these disparate interests introduce an element of disorder into the book, and that as social research it suffers from the high subjectivity of the literary material. The answer Mrs. Neff might make would be that the vivid pictures of the factory life and of the governess given in the current fiction of the age were necessary, on the one hand, to give reality to blue books and official reports and, on the other hand, to bring out the strange obliquity with which the reading public of the time regarded, or disregarded, the misery and oppression which prevailed in the woman's section of the economic system. For though Mrs. Neff puts the claim too high when she affirms that "in the study of Victorian working-women lies hidden a new appraisal of nineteenth-century literature," the stony-hearted neglect of working-class conditions by most of the popular authors of the day and by their public stands as a formidable indictment of the Christianity and ethics of this most "respectable" age. Mrs. Gaskell and Mrs. Tonna gave vivid presentments of the factory girl and the dressmaker's apprentice, Charlotte Brontë and Thackeray of the governess, and Dickens of many stray working-class types; but it is none the less true that the romance interest was centered upon women of the middle and upper classes who did not work for a living. Mrs. Neff, indeed, brings out from numerous sources the sense of inferiority, of degradation, which among all the respectable classes was evoked by the notion of women's work outside the domestic sphere—a feeling which even today lingers in the better-to-do classes of our provincial towns. In her chapters on the textile and non-textile workers she cites from government reports and magazine articles the appalling conditions prevailing in most factories and workshops, even after Lord Ashley and other reformers had forced through Parliament the beginnings of public control. She discusses in an interesting way the defenses of the laissez faire policy furnished by the religious leaders on the one hand, the political economists on the other, to the "liberal" mill-owners of the time in and outside of Parliament. The discrimination against women entering "men's trades" and the slow growth of women in the trade-union movement were, no doubt, largely responsible for the worse wages, hours, and hygiene in women's employment. This is borne out by the factory report of 1834, showing that millinery was more injurious to health than factories.

The two chapters on The Governess and The Idle Woman, taken together, shed a powerful light on the "leisure-class mentality." There was still, as Mary Wollstonecraft complained half a century before, no reputable employment for the young woman of the educated classes forced to earn a livelihood save teaching, and large numbers of well-to-do mothers preferred to enjoy the small dignity of having a home governess to bully or to snub than to send their girls to a boarding school. In no point of our social system was the snobbery of which Thackeray was the most skilled exponent so prevalent. A servant had a status; the governess had none, and was too often the butt of lower-class as well as upper-class contempt. But, unlike the ordinary wage-earner, the governess early won a considerable place as "heroine" in fiction. This was due to the fact that governesses could themselves become writers if they had a talent. The "idle woman" is an interesting expansion of Thorstein Veblen's treatment of "conspicuous leisure," and of the part which a "good marriage" plays in that economy. "To get ready for the marriage-market a girl was trained like a race-horse. Her education consisted of showy accomplishments designed to ensnare young men." It is, however, only fair to say that this training was generally confined to the definitely well-to-do classes, and that the larger body of the middle classes did give their daughters some rude practical training for housekeeping and motherhood.

JOHN A. HOBSON

The Wanderings of Takawo

The Golden Wind. By Takashi Ohta and Margaret Sperry. Charles Boni. 75 cents.

IT was a bold step on the part of the publishers to begin the Paper Books series with "The Golden Wind," for however snobbish this may sound, the story of Oriental adventures here presented is not for every reader. Action there is and excitement; love and war and religious mystery offer sufficient incidents to satisfy the most melodramatic taste; yet it is not the thousands of sensation seekers who make for the popularity of books, but the limited number who can find enjoyment in prose of a high order, who will really appreciate this narrative.

Miss Sperry's writing is as simple as that of Thornton Wilder, although much more profound. What it has most in common with the style of Wilder, however, is that in its peaceful, fluid, and naively ironic spirit it, too, dominates all of the dramatic substance of the book. It creates the same impression as does the sight of a great river on a lazy July noon. One feels a colossal calm notwithstanding that one knows that whirlpool and current and rapid, insect and fish and beast, rush and swarm all about.

Thus the question as to whether Takawo, the hero, will pass his test of admission to the Mai-Sai bandits is resolved in the moment of introspection when he sees his reflection in the pool; and again the clash of two men's love for a woman, of political plotting and mystic ritual, are somehow absorbed in the description of a hoary temple and its simple-wise worshipers.

I am informed that in this collaboration Mr. Ohta related in barely recognizable English the incidents which compose the tale of Takawo's wanderings. This fact explains the striking quality of the book. There is in it a tone of distant intimacy, the intimacy of friend rather than kin. Miss Sperry has made these adventures her own, but the sense of wonderment with

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which she has accepted them brings them closer to us of the West. We find a point of tangency with this Oriental life in the simple fact that it has passed through an Occidental mind which does not take all of its phenomena for granted. The remarkable feature of the achievement lies in the fact that the essential character of the material has not been falsified nor cheapened in the process. How faithful Miss Sperry has been to the spirit of her collaborator is best illustrated in the honest and deft way in which she has dealt with Takawo's sexual adventures. Whether she describes the idealistic covenant in the harem of General Ko, or the playful, happy union of a chance meeting with a passionate wench, or the sordid fiasco in a house of prostitution, she communicates the precise degree of natural and exotic feeling which the hero experienced in these situations.

Without inhibition and without ostentation the authors let their young Japanese live his normal life. That at the conclusion of his adolescence he discovers

> Parents, children, love: these are but the illusion we live with others in this life. We live alone and the wind of exile blows ever on our heads . . .

proves that this life has been wise as well as bitter-sweet normal.

JOHAN SMERTENKO

How to Read Poetry

Practical Criticism. By I. A. Richards. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.

CRITICISM is neither a science nor an art. Such a book as this, properly speaking a monograph on the study of language (not grammar or syntax), shows that it at least has the password to the domain of science. The laboratory experiments, illuminated by astute comment, which are here described should be read in connection with Mr. Richards's "Principles of Criticism" and "The Meaning of Meaning," the latter written in collaboration with C. K. Ogden.

Mr. Richards tried the experiment of issuing printed sheets of poems, ranging in character from a poem by Shakespeare to one by Ella Wheeler Wilcox, to students who were invited to comment freely on them. The authorship of the poems was not revealed. After a week the comments were gathered in by the lecturer and made the theme of his discourse. The experiments are of course interesting, but not at all conclusive. They lead, however, to Mr. Richards's own analysis in the latter half of the book of such matters as figurative language, sense and feeling, stock responses, sentimentality, and inhibition. Not only are these questions dealt with under a penetrating light, but they are handled in a way that adds much to the stores of knowledge we are daily piling up in regard to poetry and its effects on the human mind. We know now, if we never knew before, that the academic way of teaching poetry is wrong. We recognize, also, that only a self-complete organism can appreciate the best poetry. Most critics and Poetry Chair panjandrums are as fallible as their victims: heirs, that is, to all the small vices, stock reactions, and blurred judgments that have marked poetry-reading since the day when the religious dance was first clothed with living words.

It may be admitted, as Mr. Richards asserts, that the human situation of the poet and his reader are of the utmost importance to the writing and reading of poetry, and that the problem here is integrated with the happy (or unhappy) blunders of language. Granted that we need a repioneering of our impulses and a rebirth of the whole psychic being, what of the tradition of poetry, once this has occurred? May it not be that the truly civilized man, as Mr. Richards envisages him, will cast out the whole continuum of great poetry, finding it weak and too actual as Emerson considered Goethe, or weak and subjective as any superman might esteem Donne and Keats. We have no means today of telling, as Mr. Richards suggests, whether the "true" enjoyment of poetry is indeed a measure of the healthy pacts we have signed with life, or not. No doubt the flexible and many-faceted creature whom Mr. Richards sets up as the perfect enjoyer and arbiter of poetry would also relish other aspects of life to the full. He would imagine himself into his neighbor's emotional and intellectual world, seeing behind and beyond the mere words and gestures. But since he is as yet only an hypothesis, we do not get far by emulating his abstract and slightly unhuman criteria.

Mr. Richards recommends the following rite before reading poetry: "Sit by the fire (with eyes shut and fingers pressed firmly upon the eyeballs) and consider with as full 'realization' as possible:

I. Man's loneliness (the isolation of the human situation).
II. The facts of birth, and of death, in their inexplicable oddity.
III. The inconceivable immensity of the universe.
IV. Man's place in the perspective of time.
V. The enormity of ignorance."

Will this cure us of mawkish sentiment or of seeking compensation for our thwarted desires in poetry? I doubt it. Every reader has his banal rucksack of responses prepared to meet these situations or the words in which they are dressed by Mr. Richards. No man can make himself a perfect appreciator of poetry merely by taking thought. In brief, there is no cure for bad poetry (a relative thing) nor yet for inept poetry-reading. Both may have their underlying value in our present modes of living. We cannot even, as our author advocates, disinfect poetry of its false mysteriousness. Only Mr. Richards's abstract poetry-taster can do that; and he must first, as I see it, abolish the word poetry and, changing himself into a Chaucer or a Shakespeare, a Keats or a Wordsworth, drink deep at the sources of life as they did and create what they created, which is in each case a life-enhancing essense. "That which is truly told Nature herself takes in charge."

PIERRE LOVING

Gladstone and His Day

After Thirty Years. By Viscount Gladstone. The Macmillan Company. $7.50.

Gladstone and Palmerston (1851-1865). Correspondence. Edited by Philip Guedalla. Harper and Brothers. $5.

IT seems to have been decided that the most famous of English liberal statesmen cannot be made interesting. Gladstone was important, copious, and powerful; but he never wrote and seldom said anything that men have remembered, and our exacting age finds him entirely lacking in the salt or spice of personality. Morley's "Life," although a fine monument, is not complete, and Lord Gladstone has done a job that needed doing. This is true in respect of three crucial stages of his father's career: the fight with Disraeli over Turkey, the affair of Gordon and the Sudan, and the long tragedy of Irish home rule. The letters of Victoria and Disraeli had already revealed the gross cynicism of the Eastern policy which Gladstone opposed. The new material here brought together, and presented with no aid whatever of style or craft, provides a thorough vindication of the Liberal leader. If Lord Gladstone, in defending his father, had not fallen into a foolish blunder about Buckle's editing of the Queen's letters, his position would have been invulnerable. He shows that his father made a noble offer of cooperation with Salisbury and Balfour for a non-party settlement of Ireland in 1886. But the situation, shockingly bungled by

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Gladstone's lieutenants, offered an irresistible temptation to the Tories. They made full use of it, thus releasing the forces that wrought the ruin of Ireland between the fall of Parnell and the appearance of De Valera. There is almost no reason in the governance of nations.

The correspondence of Gladstone and Palmerston provides a first-rate example of the spacious Victorian manner. The younger man was an invaluable member of Palmerston's cabinets during and after the Crimean War. The two men had nothing whatever in common, save an equal genius for, and absorption in, public affairs. They differed about everything, regarded one another with mutual suspicion, but kept their tempers perfectly and never came near a quarrel. Mr. Guedalla cannot hope to come upon a better piece of ground for the display of his knowledge and the exercise of his ingenuity as a commentator. But what an utterly vanished world it is!

S. K. RATCLIFFE

Zona Gale's New Manner

Borgia. By Zona Gale. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

THERE is no contemporary author whose evolution is more interesting than that of Zona Gale. From the days when she began to compose somewhat sentimental stories in the manner of the local colorists down to the present when she is writing psychological novels in a manner very distinctly her own, the course of her development has been continuous and self-directed. There were those who saw in "Miss Lulu Bett" the irresistible influence of a fashion in realism, and who hailed it as a sign that Miss Gale had been persuaded to climb on the literary band-wagon; but the aloofness of her spirit ought to be in itself sufficient to guarantee that nothing of the kind had happened, even if it were not for the fact that since the publication of the book her work has departed farther and farther from conformity to modish patterns. The truth seems to be that if she crossed the stream at that point it was only by accident, and the fact that she has continued to live in the relative isolation of a Wisconsin village is the outward sign of a preoccupation with self-development too complete to permit any dalliance with literary fashion. She discovered naturalism for herself and then abandoned it in favor of the far more personal method which achieves very absorbing results in "Borgia." She has her "early," her "middle," and her "late" manners, but they are stages in the development of a highly individual talent.

This latest novel is concerned with telling the strange story of a girl who seemed to bring calamity to all whom she touched. Herself morbidly aware of the fact, she feels that it is evidence of something evil in her own nature, but she does not know what that evil is. Though the phenomenon began to manifest itself during her childhood, it has grown constantly more striking until it seems that if death or calamity overtakes any one of her acquaintances it is traceable to her—she took him where he contracted the fatal disease, she suggested the expedition upon which he was killed, or it was to please her that he did not go where he might have escaped. No obvious ill will, no obviously unintelligent advice, are involved. Rationality would say that she could not possibly have known how chance would operate, that she could not possibly be held in any way accountable. But if it is indeed only chance, then chance seems to work with a malignant persistence which necessitates some new conception of its nature, and the problem of the book is the problem of discovering the what and the how of something in her personality that works evil to others.

One candid friend suggests that the whole exists only in her mind; that she works ingeniously to fix guilt upon herself because at bottom she enjoys the sense of playing a darkly important role in some drama which goes on just outside human ken; and we are led to suppose that this explanation includes a half-truth. But as the story approaches its fortunate termination still more tenuous things are suggested. This heroine is not "right" with the world. Her will is not good despite the fact that she is not grossly or even consciously malignant. Willing evil she is the occasion of it, not because she plans or knows, but because the spiritual universe works in ways we do not understand and responds to evil suggestions which we do not have to express in plans of our own. Love and hate take short cuts through it. They are forces in and by themselves.

Now for this species of mysticism in itself I have scanty intellectual respect, for it smells unpleasantly of New Thought and the Yogi of California. But for the art with which Miss Gale has used it, for the skill with which she has evoked an atmosphere at once apparently realistic and yet charged with a sense of the ominously mysterious, I have a very high admiration. An effect like that which she creates cannot be pursued directly; it cannot be achieved through direct description or direct narration. It must be hinted between the lines, enmeshed in a network of words which seem to be concerned with something else. And Miss Gale has succeeded amazingly in doing what she set out to do. Her story is absorbing and strangely disconcerting. Her book is one of those rare ones which cast a genuine spell.

The story is laid in the Middle West of today and the manners described are the manners of ordinary upper-class people, but the author has the true mystic's gift for looking so intently at the familiar that it begins to seem strange. One knows these people very well, yet at the same time it seems that one has never really been aware of them before. There is no elaborate background, no lengthy disquisition, and yet everything necessary is somehow presented. Here, in a word, is a very individual vision plus a very accomplished technique. Miss Gale's isolation has no doubt encouraged a great deal of self-communion, but she has never forgotten that her business is ultimately to communicate; and what we get, therefore, is a manner as crisp, as deft, and as definite as the mood is tenuous and intangible.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Submarines and War

When the U-Boats Came to America. By William Bell Clark. Little, Brown and Company. $3.

WHEN the submarines crossed the ocean in 1916 the general reaction was one of amazement. For the fact remains that when the war broke out in Europe the great objection to the submarine among naval experts was that it was not adapted to long-distance cruising. Von Tirpitz had refused for years to spend much of the German naval appropriation on underseas vessels. The transformation of the submarine into a vessel that could operate at a distance from its base for a considerable length of time was one of the many technical developments that made the World War unprecedented. It gave Germany the opportunity to come within an ace of defeating the Allies by instituting a submarine campaign against Allied shipping, and it allowed them to bring the war to the very doors of America.

Curiously enough Mr. Clark does not place much emphasis on the visit made to the American coast by a German war submarine in 1916 (the commercial submarine Deutschland arrived about the same time). It seems to me that this might very well have made an excellent opening chapter for his book. If he had turned to J. W. Gerard's "My Four Years in Germany" he would have discovered the interesting fact that

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Gerard and Swope of the *World* were on the ocean when this raid took place and seized the occasion as an excuse to conduct an inflammatory propaganda against the Germans. Swope wirelessed his paper that it was the opinion of the informed that Germany was about to renew unrestricted submarine warfare. Gerard was indirectly rebuked for his part in this episode, for when he saw President Wilson the latter emphasized strongly his desire that Gerard should prepare the way for peace when he returned to Germany. Mr. Clark might well have shown how it was that the visit of a war submarine to our shores before America entered the war was a contributory factor in setting the emotional trend of American public opinion toward such entrance. Instead, he deals almost exclusively with what the Germans accomplished in the raids conducted after we entered the war. Pitifully little was actually accomplished. As Mr. Clark points out, what the Germans really demonstrated was the potentialities of the submarine as a long-distance fighting vessel. Mr. Clark uses this fact to support an argument in favor of preparedness. The conclusion does not necessarily follow, and the reader would have been saved a momentary annoyance if Mr. Clark had stuck to his mutton, which in this case was history and not propaganda.

Six U-boats visited American waters. They destroyed, by various methods, vessels to the total of 166,907 tons. In so doing they also destroyed 435 lives. There was a wide discrepancy between the success of the various vessels, but not one returned to Germany without a few sinkings to its credit. The protective system of the United States navy did fairly good work but did not succeed in destroying a single submarine. On the other hand, it rendered most of the mines harmless, chiefly by sweeping them up. Yet the greatest killing by the Germans was the United States armored cruiser San Diego which sank off Fire Island after striking a mine.

Mr. Clark's narrative confirms the opinion of Admiral Sims with regard to submarine atrocities. By and large the Germans were very decent in treating the victims of their sinkings. They made use of the wireless to notify vessels where survivors were in open boats; they towed boats to a position nearer shore; and they gave the men in the boats their position and directed them to the nearest shore. Nevertheless, lives were lost, as the figure quoted above painfully shows. The lives that were lost off the American coast were about twice as many as the American lives lost through submarine action before the United States entered the war. The visit of the U-boats demonstrated that the American coast was pregnable. Beyond that the episode proved nothing at all except that war is utterly idiotic and that the energy that went into the construction of these instruments of destruction might more profitably have been directed in the ways of peace.

C. Hartley Grattan

Illustrated Books and New Editions

Churches of France (The Macmillan Company; $20), a finely printed quarto volume of 179 pages, offers informal and non-technical descriptions of upwards of forty churches and cathedrals by Dorothy Noyes Arms, together with fifty-one full-page reproductions of etchings and drawings by John Taylor Arms.

Ernestine Evans contributes an introduction to *The Frescoes of Diego Rivera* (Harcourt, Brace and Company; $10), a collection of pictures reproduced from the originals in the Ministry of Education and the National Preparatory School at Mexico City and the National Agricultural Academy at Chapingo. Thirteen portraits and sketches by Rivera are also included.

The Second New Yorker Album (Doubleday, Doran and Company; $2.50), a collection of more than 100 illustrations from the *New Yorker,* is offered as "a Social Register of the year's humor." A foreword assures the reader that "many of the funniest drawings" which the paper has published "originated through a complete misunderstanding between editor and artist. The completer the misunderstanding, the funnier the drawing."

The Gluyas Williams Book (Doubleday, Doran and Company; $2.50) reproduces 80 pages of joyous cartoons originally contributed to *Life* and the *New Yorker.* Charles Dana Gibson writes a foreword and Robert C. Benchley a preface.

A handsome two-volume reprint of the second and revised edition of Smollett's *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle,* with nineteen full-page illustrations in black and white by Alexander King, has been brought out by the John Day Company ($15). The edition is limited to 1,000 copies, of which 950 are numbered.

Carlyle's *The French Revolution* has been reissued by E. P. Dutton and Company in a two-volume edition ($6), with an introduction by Hilaire Belloc, and twelve pen and ink drawings by G. E. Chambers and sixteen portraits in photogravure.

Professor George Herbert Palmer's well-known translation of *The Odyssey of Homer* has been reissued with full-page illustrations in color by N. C. Wyeth (Houghton Mifflin Company; $5).

Giacomo Casanova: His Life and Memoirs. Translated from the French by Arthur Machen. Selected and Edited with Connecting Links by George Dunning Gribble, is a recent addition to the Borzoi Classics (Alfred A. Knopf; two volumes; $7.50). The text of the "Memoirs," unfortunately, is expurgated.

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Music

An Operatic Revival
Mr. Horowitz Reappears

TWO events marked the opening of the Metropolitan Opera season. First the debut of Joseph Rosenstock, the new Wagnerian conductor, which resulted in a tragedy, and the revival of Puccini's "Girl of the Golden West." Mr. Rosenstock plainly suffered from a lack of knowledge of the Opera House acoustics and was, therefore, frankly experimental in his manner of conducting. More than that, he marred his reading of "Die Meistersinger" through his very rapid tempi which frequently embarrassed the singers and muddled the delicate nuances of the orchestral picture. His fortes were at times over-torrential, yet lacking in depth and brilliance. So unfavorable were the comments upon his performance that it seemed impossible to remain and he has at this writing already severed his connection with the Metropolitan and returned to Europe, which is the more regrettable since the Metropolitan distinctly needs a new Wagnerian conductor.

The revival of Puccini's "Girl of the Golden West" has been, on the other hand, a genuine success. With Mr. Belasco, the author of the original play, in the audience and with Madame Jeritza, Mr. Martinelli, and Mr. Tibbett in the leading parts there was an opening performance which has done a great deal to reinstate this opera in public favor. The "Girl of the Golden West" is above all good theater, and makes its mark largely on this account. On rehearing the work, however, after a lapse of years, one questions the ultimate value of the musical setting. Puccini is in his best moments a melodist, and the opulent and at times over-sophisticated style of his lyricism is frankly out of place in this swift-moving staccato drama. He has therefore adopted in part a scheme of fragmented rapid-fire recitative and abrupt, lightly tensed orchestration which adequately meets the demands of his text, and at the same time serves as a general model of procedure to many Italian operatic composers of the day.

Whether the play actually gains by such methods of setting may be doubted, but certain it is that the music loses both in inherent quality and in sensuous appeal. In spite of these limitations and the handicaps of his idiom, Puccini has given a good show in the "Girl of the Golden West," and it was the element of showmanship that was specially stressed in the Metropolitan performance. The breathless tempo of the melodrama, its moments of stark humor and passion were admirably revealed, while general excellence of ensemble and *mise en scène* made up to a certain extent for the lack of distinctive American atmosphere in action and dialogue. Mme Jeritza has found in Minnie a role that is well suited to her powers of dramatic expression, even though at times she exaggerates the part and becomes over-boisterous. Mr. Tibbett as the sheriff was gratefully restrained in manner to balance the wholly Italian exuberance of Mr. Martinelli's Jack Rance. When all is said the "Girl of the Golden West" is a diverting blend of well-hinged music and Italo-American melodrama.

Among pianists of the day Mr. Vladimir Horowitz has come to occupy an enviable position. His playing is distinguished by admirable virtuosity and a rather rare blend of poise and poetic insight. This was especially evident in the Brahms and Chopin group of his recital on November 15. The Brahms F-minor Sonata is not a grateful number to pianists. It is somewhat episodic in structure and introspective in mood, and avoids even a breath of the spectacular. Mr. Horowitz was unusually successful in preserving a careful balance of these

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qualities, while reflecting the pith and eloquence and at times the veiled solemnities of Brahms's style. In his reading of Chopin there was fire and brilliance and constant mastery of the difficult art of perspective, and this despite the fact that the Chopin selections were not of a kind to reveal the artist's highest interpretative powers. The program concluded with Liszt's "Don Juan" fantasy, a *tour de force* of pianistic resource, played con amore by Mr. Horowitz. Taken as a whole, the recital proved a memorable event of the early season.

Memorable also was the Philharmonic concert of November 14, with its first presentation of Ravel's "Bolero." Not since Safonof's reading of the Symphony Pathétique has a conductor of these concerts evoked such enthusiasm. Rarely indeed has any orchestra achieved a more stupendous climax than was built measure for measure under Toscanini's baton on this occasion. The result brought an overpowering ovation for the conductor and the orchestra which was richly deserved. More even than in past years Toscanini has fashioned the magnificent out of his instrument. He leaves behind a record of superb accomplishment.

In lighter vein, but likewise inviting favorable comment, is the production of Johann Strauss's "Fledermaus," revived by Messrs. Schubert under the title of "A Wonderful Night." It is a hopeful sign of the times when managers begin to realize that the usual type of Broadway musical comedy has become somewhat shoddy, and look a bit afield for their productions. Moreover, there is a wealth of material in the domain of French and Viennese light opera which is all but unknown on this side of the water, and which may well appeal even to Broadway. To be sure, this Schubert production errs on the side of over-elaborateness, and something of the original Viennese flavor has evaporated in the process of jazzing the dialogue and music. But the operetta is exceedingly well cast and sung, and the use of a revolving stage as in its recent highly successful revival in Berlin lends an air of improvisation wholly in keeping with the spirit of the libretto. LAURENCE ADLER

Films

The Eye and the Heart

IN considering works of literature and drama we have come to recognize that the mere sequence of events described does not constitute their whole "story." The manner in which the events are described and unfolded is as much a part of the story as are the events themselves. The same consideration obviously applies to the motion picture. Like novels and plays the motion picture tells the story with a multitude of means which all contribute to the total effect. The only difference is that its means are peculiarly its own, and especially so in the case of the silent picture. It will be remembered that the American silent picture, now defunct, relied for its effect mainly on the action of the characters. The Germans and the Russians between them, while giving a peculiar national twist to their plots, have also brought into play a number of other means of expression. Notably, they have emphasized the pictorial appeal to the eye and the dynamic or rhythmic continuity. It is still a debatable question whether the pictorial or the dynamic emphasis is the more potent, and whether the former when applied in the motion picture should not be completely dissociated from the forms which it developed in the art of painting, and made to seek a purely cinematic form in the dynamic foundation of the motion picture itself.

In my opinion, the art of the cinema has no business to imitate the art of painting either in the matter of composition,

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of light effects, of surface texture, or of the treatment of human character. Least of all can it afford to do it when it attempts to tell a story of dramatic significance. But I should not like to say that films which lay particular stress on their pictorial appeal are not interesting. Some of them will titillate your pictorial palate, if you happen to have one, with such choice relishes that you will forget everything else. "The New Babylon" (Cameo), the latest Russian arrival, almost comes within this class. Any one who remembers his Manet, his Renoir, or his Degas will find their characters suddenly come to life with all the atmosphere that their masters gave them, and almost with their masters' brush strokes. They do not strike attitudes as painters' models do, but move about with perfect poise and naturalness; sometimes they even indulge in a veritable orgy of movement. Yet they always retain a certain quality of unreality about them, as if they were ghosts masquerading in human clothes. If it were not a story of the Paris Commune which these characters unfold before us we might possibly accept them for real beings, but the Maeterlinckian touch of otherworldliness in the midst of the struggle for a new life in a real world seems to defeat the very message of the story.

Those who like stories of adventure, with all the romance that pertains to their heroes, will enjoy Ronald Colman in his latest debonair effort called "Condemned" (Selwyn's). One does not apply the criteria of psychological truth to pictures of this kind. All one asks of them is that they should be plausible. And "Condemned" is plausible besides being amusing, racy, and, in the end, quite thrilling. It is also rich in detail in depicting the life of the penal colony on Devil's Island, though with the accent on Mr. Colman's deviltry the devil of the island somewhat recedes into the background.

It is just because "The Trespasser" (Rialto) tries to deal with serious matters of life in the manner of a *Liberty* story that one must pronounce it a less satisfying picture than "Condemned." Miss Gloria Swanson acquits herself creditably in this her first appearance in a talking picture, but the story is utterly unreal for our day. ALEXANDER BAKSHY

Drama

Good Intentions

ROMAIN ROLLAND is a distinguished author. For some years past his "Game of Love and Death" has stood on library shelves and received, no doubt, a measure of consideration by virtue of its position in close proximity to "Jean Christophe." Unfortunately, however, the Theater Guild has chosen to blow dust from the pages in order to arrange for a production upon the stage of its own theater; and the play, submitted to the test of performance, reveals itself as a pompous and essentially futile melodrama whose emptiness is not concealed by the measured language or the dignified gesture. It has, to be sure, its moments of interest; but these moments are merely those in which the author condescends to use a few threadbare theatrical situations no more effective in his hands than they would be in those of any competent stage carpenter. Considered as a piece of rather antiquated theatricalism it will pass; considered as an attempt to reach the grand manner it is flat failure.

Obviously the intentions of the author are of the very best. He writes in the full consciousness of the fact that dignity and elevation are expected of him. In undertaking to tell a tale of the French Revolution he realizes that he has chosen an epoch surrounded by glamor and that the theme is one which calls for majesty of treatment. Moreover he goes, quite conscientiously, through all the gestures. His characters strike the ap-

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propriate attitudes and utter aphorisms when these are expected of them. Danton, Robespierre, and the rest are mentioned with awe. All the characters seem to be aware of the fact that they are making history. But somehow little except good intentions is evident. One knows that the author feels his responsibilities and that he is doing his best, but one is not moved as one is expected to be. The poetry, the passion, the exaltation which ought to be evident are not. Minerva has been invoked—piously, trustingly, perhaps a little overconfidently—but she exercises her ancient prerogative and does not respond.

The lesson of the performance, often taught before, is, I believe, sufficiently plain. Modern audiences are not predisposed in favor of history and costumes, and modern audiences are right. The grand manner is not ours and we cannot achieve it merely by trying. We know what it is, we recognize it in the great masters of the past, but the language of the heroic drama is essentially a dead language. Try as they will, neither the author, the actor, nor the spectator breathes naturally the atmosphere which a play like the "Game of Love and Death" strives to evoke. One and all have lost the capacity to see life in these terms, to be convinced by such gestures. They may desire some ampler vision than realism affords, they may long for more spacious times, but they cannot create what the age has denied them. Ask a painter to paint like Tintoretto, and he may copy the externals of the manner, but his picture will inevitably be silly because he does not really see people as invested with the kind of dignity which Tintoretto gave them; and what is true of painting is true of literature and drama also. Dignity and sublimity come hard to us. They are caught in fleeting moments; they turn up unexpectedly in strange places; but they are never more conspicuously absent than when we strive to capture them by getting ourselves up, literally and figuratively, in fancy dress.

The best disposed audience gathered at the Guild Theater feels this fact. Actors as competent as Alice Brady and Frank Conroy feel it also, as something self-conscious in their manner reveals. And if Rolland himself is less aware than the others that his effort is unsuccessful, his failure is none the less evident in the unconvincing character of his heroics. The language is lead where it should be gold; it struts when it should soar. The costumes, the situations, and the deeds are what they ought to be, but the faith in them is gone and the drama seems, by comparison with any heroic piece written in an heroic age, like an opera with the music left out. However good his own intentions and those of the Guild may be, the gesture of both is futile. If the style of our moment is ever transcended it will be in some new way, for plays like this one are merely literary in the very worst sense of that word.

"Your Uncle Dudley" (Cort Theater) is, as the title would suggest, a "homely" farce. The uncle in question is an amiable go-getter very terribly put upon by a domineering sister-in-law, and there is, of course, a romance on the side. But familiar as the materials and the style are, the piece is both expertly put together and written in a vein of shrewd satire which is none the less telling because essentially amiable. Thanks in part to a hilarious performance by Mrs. Jacques Martin in the role of an indomitable old lady it is excellent entertainment.

Daniel Rubin's "Claire Adams" (Biltmore Theater) is a very serious drama devoted to showing that a nice girl from Waco may be turned into a murderess merely because she comes to New York to live. Unfortunately the author never escapes from the commonplace except when he falls into the incredible.

Mr. William Gillette earns our admiration by his gallant revival of his old success "Sherlock Holmes" (New Amsterdam Theater). Detective plays have become noisier, faster, and more violent since the days when they were a sensation, but Mr. Gillette is still impressive despite his seventy-five years.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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Berkeley Square—Lyceum—E. 45th St.
Criminal Code—National—W. 41st St.
Irish Theatre—The Silver Tassie—7th Ave. & W. 4th St.
It's a Wise Child—Belasco—44th St.
June Moon—Broadhurst—W. 44th St.
Marionette Theatre—Garrick, W. 35th St.—Sat. mornings.
Rope's End—Elliott—39th near 6th Ave.
Sherlock Holmes—New Amsterdam—W. 42nd St. Op. Nov. 25th.
Strictly Dishonorable—Avon—W. 45th St.
Sweet Adeline—Hammerstein—Broadway & 53rd St.
The Game of Love and Death—Guild Theatre—W. 52nd St.
The Silver Swan—Martin Beck—W. 45th St. Op. Nov. 27th.
Yiddish Art Theatre—Jew Suss—Broadway & 28th St.

First Nights

Merry Widow—Jolson—59th St. & 7th Ave.—Revival.

FILMS

Hungarian Rhapsody—Film Guild—52 W. 8th St.
Disraeli—Central Theatre—Broadway and 47th St.
General Crack—Warner Bros.—Broadway & 52nd St.
News Reel Theatre—Embassy—Broadway and 46th St.
The Box of Pandora—55th St. Playhouse.—154 W. 55th St.
The New Babylon—Cameo Theatre—42nd St. and Broadway.

CONCERTS—RECITALS

Angna Enters—Sun., Eve., Dec. 8, Booth, W. 45th St.
Cornelia Otis Skinner—Sun. Eve., Dec. 8, Forrest, W. 49th St.
Manhattan Symphony—Sun. Eve., Dec. 8, Mecca Temple, W. 55 St.
Philharmonic Symphony—Thurs. Eve., Dec. 12; Fri. Aft., Dec. 13; Sun. Aft., Dec. 8, Carnegie Hall; Sun. Aft., Dec. 15, Metropolitan Opera House.
Philharmonic Symphony, Junior Orchestral Concerts—Sat. Morn., Dec. 7, 14, Carnegie Hall.

DEBATE

"Is Modern Marriage a Failure"—Bertrand Russell and John Cooper Powys—Mecca Temple—Fri. Eve., Dec. 13th.

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Communism in India

WE reprint the following article from the *Manchester Guardian*. According to an editorial note which accompanies the article, its author returned only a few months ago from an important post in India. *The Nation* prints the article, of course, for the facts presented rather than for the opinions expressed:

For one reason or another communism is very much in the mind of the public in India, and, indeed, in the United Kingdom and elsewhere, just at present. In some quarters there is a disposition to see in Communist intrigue in India possibilities of the same calamitous results as attended the work of the "Red" agents in China. It is hoped that the present article will prove reassuring on this point, though no attempt will be made to gloss over the true dangers of the situation.

Since 1924 there has been an openly established Indian Communist Party, with headquarters at Cawnpore, and during the last eighteen months or so Communist societies have sprung up under a variety of names, including, in Bengal, that of the Workers' and Peasants' Party. Before 1924 there had been some hesitation on the part of Indians and Europeans to found an avowedly communist society in India, since it was uncertain whether the profession of communism did not fall within the scope of the Indian penal code. However, in that year the judgment in the famous Cawnpore conspiracy case was delivered, and the founder of the Indian Communist Society thought that the case had shown that no offense against the law was committed by professing faith in communism, provided that this was not followed by treasonable designs and overt action against the state. It is quite impossible to give accurate figures of membership of the Communist bodies and societies in India. Many of them consist only of their founders, and genuine membership, even among the intelligentsia or the educated youth of the country, seems to be very uncommon. The danger from the Communist movement in India arises from the facts that its genuine votaries are to a large extent highly trained and active organizers, that it commands the sympathy of an appreciable section of the Indian press, and that its work lies among a mass of laborers, both industrial and agricultural, with a low standard of wages and living, profoundly ignorant as a rule, and, consequently, easily excited and goaded to action.

Against these conditions which favor the growth of communism in India are to be set certain countervailing circumstances. The first is that agricultural labor is, except in the tea and coffee gardens and on a comparatively few big estates, absolutely incapable of organization, being scattered in tiny units over a vast country where the language spoken in one part is entirely incomprehensible in another and where practically whole provinces are withdrawn from the scope of Communist effort because the land is tilled by peasant proprietors. So it is that except on certain plantations and some of the bigger estates, notably in Bengal and in parts of Bihar and Orissa, Communist doctrines have made no headway among agriculturists.

Very different things are to be said about the effects of communism on industrial labor. For although there is no heavy concentration of industrial labor except in the few great textile areas — Bombay, Calcutta, Madras — the lesser centers of Cawnpore, Ahmedabad, Sholapur, and some others, and the seat of the great Tata iron and steel industry at Jamshedpur in the province of Bihar and Orissa; in all these places Communist agents have been busy, particularly during the past two years, and the results of their labors are to be seen in the almost continuous series of strikes in one place or another, at any rate during the past nineteen months. Elsewhere, where there is no big concentration of labor, there has been little or no evidence shown of Communist influence, and such trade disputes as there may have been have arisen from the usual causes. But in Bombay, Calcutta, and Jamshedpur the hand of the Communist is very evident in the industrial disputes which have taken place in recent months. Strikes have started for no sufficient reason and have been carried on by means of intimidation of willing workers, long after there could be any shadow of economic or other justification for refusing to go back to work. . . . The record of Bombay for months past is a striking example of the grave dangers and the colossal economic harm to India which can flow from the work of the Communist agents.

The same agency has been at work among the employees of certain of the big railway companies, and within the past two years strikes, accompanied in most if not all cases by acts of sabotage, have taken place, largely, there is no reason to doubt, as the result of Communist instigation. The South Indian Railway and the East Indian Railway have both been the scenes of prolonged strikes of a kind and accompanied by incidents new to Indian industrial disputes. Indeed, the same can be said of the recent strikes in Bombay, Calcutta, and Jamshedpur. The crimes which have been their accompaniment represent something absolutely new in India, and, it is to be hoped, something transient.

While we are dealing with this subject of the new model of Indian strikes, it may be as well to point out that both in Bombay and at Kharagpur, on the East Indian Railway, recent strikes have led directly and almost inevitably to furious Hindu-Mohammedan rioting, another example of the dangers to which India is exposed by the stirring up of industrial or any other sort of mass unrest.

It is clear, therefore, that Communist agents have succeeded in unsettling industrial and transport workers in a number of places in India, but it is equally clear that the corpus vile of their experiments is utterly ignorant of what communism is and of what are its ultimate objects. Indian workers strike because their wages and standard of living are low, and the way to remove the Communist danger is to raise both. The agriculturists are apparently all but untouched by Communist agitation, and the same can be said of the educated classes as a whole. A few intellectuals profess communism in an academic way, and a few of the more extreme Nationalist politicians hope to find in communism a strong ally for their political fight. Both intellectuals and politicians have a certain following among the educated youth of India, but it is a following without stability or influence. Nevertheless, the experience of the past two years has shown that the industrial workers in the biggest centers are peculiarly malleable material in the hands of clever and unscrupulous Communist organizers, and this is one of the circumstances which gives such importance to the recently appointed Whitley Commission on Indian labor. A better organization of trade unions, the extension of welfare work among the employees of great industrial and transport units, better housing (a task in which the municipalities can take a great share), and, generally, any improvement in wages and in the standard of living of Indian industrial labor will do much to render sterile the efforts of Communist agents, who, after all, are preaching a doctrine wholly alien to Indian traditions.

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NATURAL SCIENCE

Tuesday, Dec. 10—Dr. Kenneth C. Blanchard—"Chemistry of Live Processes."

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Monday, Dec. 9—Dr. Mark Van Doren—The Autobiography of America—"The Generation of the Fathers."

Wednesday, Dec. 11—Dr. E. Boyd Barrett—"Problems in the Psychology of Religion." "Religious Fasts and Feasts."

Thursday, Dec. 12—Dr. E. G. Spaulding—The Development of Fundamental Ideas and Fundamental Problems in Philosophy and Science. "Law. Is there such a thing as Chance?"

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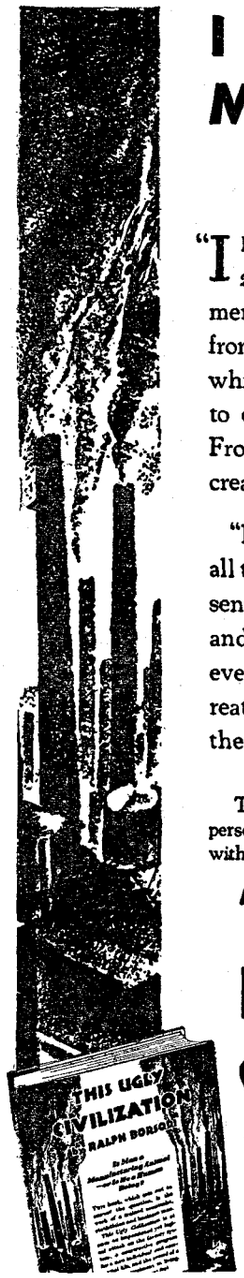

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